



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600074326S



/

)



NOTES ON ENGLISH DIVINES.



NOTES ON ENGLISH DIVINES.

BY

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

EDITED BY

THE REV. DERWENT COLERIDGE, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



LONDON :

EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET.

1853.

270. g. 179.

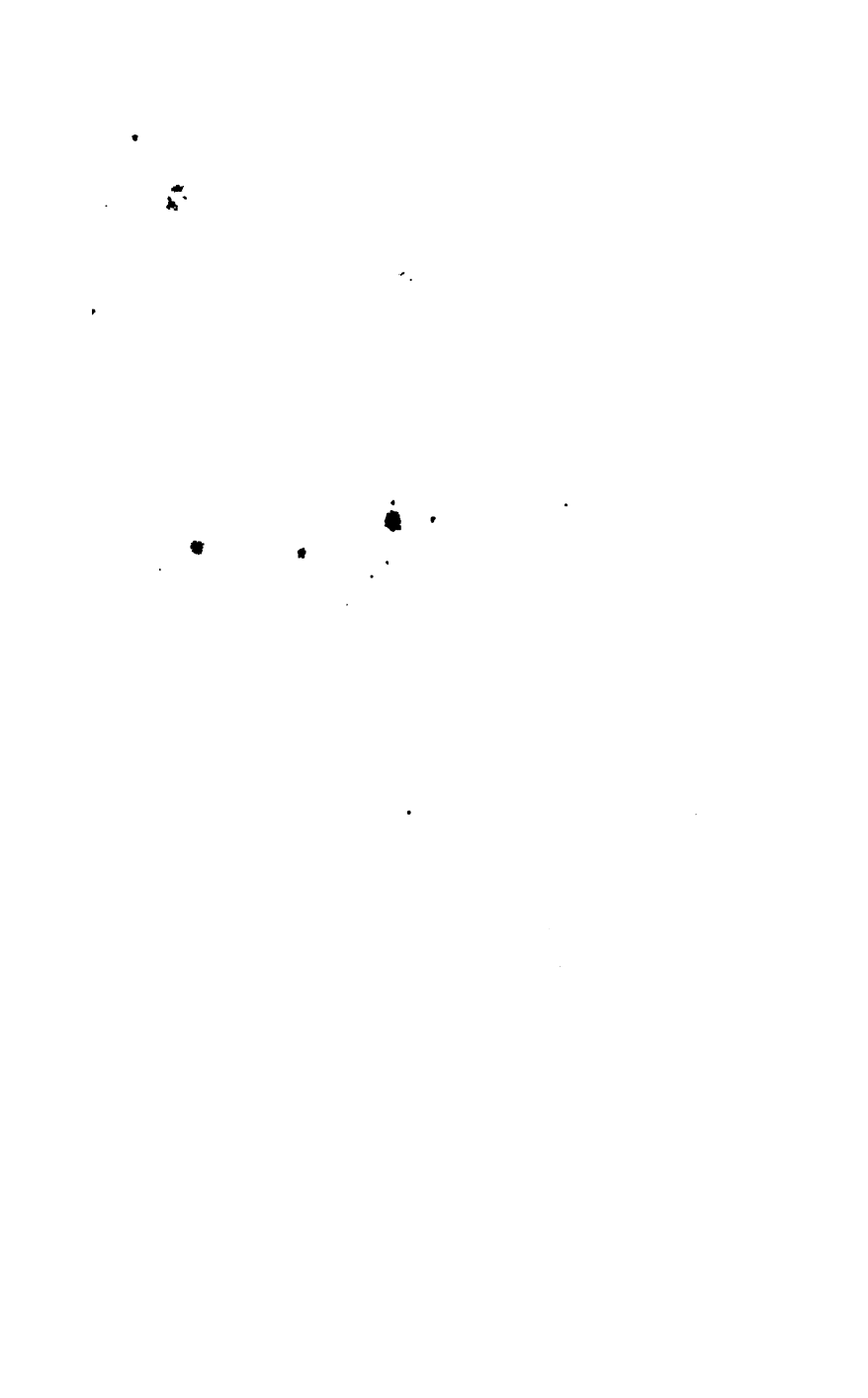
•

•

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

CONTENTS.

	Page
NOTES ON BEDELL	1
„ BAXTER	5
„ LEIGHTON	120
„ SHERLOCK	144
„ WATERLAND	178
„ SKELTON	211
„ ANDREW FULLER	238
„ WHITAKER	244
„ OXLEE	255
„ A BARRISTER'S HINTS	265
„ DAVISON	323
„ IRVING	335
„ NOBLE	348



NOTES ON ENGLISH DIVINES.

NOTES ON BURNET'S LIFE OF BISHOP BEDJELL.*

1810.

Pp. 12—14.

Here I must add a passage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the sincerity, or on the understanding of the English Ambassador. The breach between the Pope and the Republic was brought very near a crisis, &c.

THESE pages contain a weak and unhandsome attack on Wotton, who doubtless had discovered that the presentation of the Premonition previously to the reconciliation as publicly completed, but after it had been privately agreed on, between the Court of Rome and the Senate of Venice, would embarrass the latter : whereas, delivered as it was, it showed the King's and his minister's zeal for Protestantism, and yet supplied the Venetians with an answer not disrespectful to the King. Besides, what is there in Wotton's whole life (a man so disinterested, and who retired from all his embassies so poor) to justify the remotest suspicion of

* London, 1685.

his insincerity? what can this word mean less or other than that Sir H. W. was either a crypt-Papist, or had received a bribe from the Romish party? Horrid accusations!—Burnet was notoriously rash and credulous; but I remember no other instance in which his zeal for the Reformation joined with his credulity has misled him into so gross a calumny. It is not to be believed, that Bedell gave any authority to such an aspersion of his old and faithful friend and patron, further than that he had related the fact, and that he and the minister differed in opinion as to the prudence of the measure recommended. How laxly, too, the story is narrated! The exact date of the recommendation by Father Paul and the divines should have been given;—then the date of the public annunciation of the reconciliation between the Pope and Venetian Republic; and lastly the day on which Wotton did present the book; for even this Burnet leaves uncertain.

P. 26.

It is true he never returned and changed his religion himself, but his son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the Bishopric of Kilmore there, and told him, that his father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it. He said, it was almost always lying open before him, and that he had heard him say, 'He was resolved to save one.' And it seems he instructed his son in the true religion, for he declared himself a Protestant on his coming over.

Southey has given me a bad character of this son of the unhappy convert to the Romish Church. He became, it seems, a spy on the Roman Catholics, availing himself of his father's character among them, a crime which would indeed render his testimony null and more than null; it would be a presumption of

the contrary. It is clear from his letters to Bedell that the convert was a very weak man. I owe to him, however, a complete confirmation of my old persuasion concerning Bishop Hall, whom from my first perusal of his works I have always considered as one of the blots (alas! there are too many) of the biography of the Church of England; a self-conceited, coarse-minded, persecuting, vulgar priest and (by way of *anti-climax*) one of the first corrupters of and epigrammatisers of our English prose style. It is not true, that Sir Thomas Brown was the prototype of Dr. Johnson, who imitated him only as far as Sir T. B. resembles the majority of his predecessors; that is, in the pedantic preference of Latin derivations to Saxon words of the very same force. In the balance and construction of his periods Dr. Johnson has followed Hall, as any intelligent reader will discover by an attentive comparison.

P. 158.

Yea, will some man say, 'But that which marreth all is the opinion of merit and satisfaction.' Indeed that is the School doctrine, but the conscience enlightened to know itself, will easily act that part of the publican, *who smote his breast and said, God be merciful to me a sinner.*

Alas! so far from this being the case with ninety-nine out of one hundred in Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Roman Catholic Germany, it is the Gospel tenets that are the true School doctrine, that is confined to books and closets of the learned among them.

P. 161.

And the like may be conceived here, since, especially, the idolatry practised under the obedience of mystical Babylon

is rather in false and will-worship of the true God, and rather commended as profitable than enjoined as absolutely necessary, and the corruptions there maintained are rather in a superfluous addition than retraction in any thing necessary to salvation.

This good man's charity jarring with his love and tender recollections of Father Paul, Fulgentio, and the Venetian divines, has led him to a far, far too palliative statement of Roman idolatry. Not what the Pope has yet ventured to thunder forth from his Anti-Sinai, but what he and his satellites, the Regulars, enforce to the preclusion of all true worship, in the actual practice, life-long, of an immense majority in Spain, Italy, Bavaria, Austria, &c. &c.—this must determine the point. What they are themselves,—not what they would persuade Protestants is their essentials or Faith,—this is the main thing.

P. 164.

I answer, under correction of better judgments, they have the ministry of reconciliation by the communion which is given at their ordination, being the same which our Saviour left in his Church :—*whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, whose sins ye retain, they are retained.*

Could Bishop Bedell believe that the mere will of a priest could have any effect on the everlasting weal or woe of a Christian ! Even to the immediate disciples and Apostles could the text (if indeed it have reference to sins in our sense at all), mean more than this,—whenever you discover, by the spirit of knowledge which I will send unto you, repentance and faith, you shall declare remission of sins ; and the sins shall be remitted ;—and where the contrary exists, your declaration of exclusion from bliss shall be fulfilled ? Did Christ say, that true repentance

and actual faith would not save a soul, unless the priest's verbal remission was superadded?

In fine. If it were in my power I would have this book printed in a convenient form, and distributed through every house, at least, through every village and parish throughout the kingdom. A volume of thought and of moral feelings, the offspring of thought, crowd upon me as I review the different parts of this admirable man's life and creed. Only compare his conduct to James Wadsworth (probably some ancestral relative of my honoured friend, William Wordsworth: for the same name in Yorkshire, from whence his father came, is pronounced Wadsworth) with that of the far, far, too highly rated Bishop Hall; his letter to Hall tenderly blaming his (Hall's) bitterness to an old friend mistaken, and then his letter to that friend defending Hall! What a picture of goodness! I confess, in all Ecclesiastical History I have read of no man so spotless, though of hundreds in which the biographers have painted them as masters of perfection: but the moral tact soon feels the truth.

NOTES ON BAXTER'S LIFE OF HIMSELF.*

FIRST SERIES.

IN the notes, I have been bold enough marginally to write in this book, it will, I trust, be seen, that I am a bigot to no party. Highly do I approve of Baxter's conduct, affectionately admire and bless

* *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*: or Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times. Folio, 1696.

his peace-seeking spirit, and coincide with him as to the necessity of Church discipline in a Christian Church; but, on the other hand, I think his objections to the Liturgy, &c. &c., mistaken altogether, and even captious. His own system would have introduced an Hierocracy unexampled and insufferable, which yet he was the last man on earth to have meant or wished.

Lib. I. part i. p. 22.

That the Being and Attributes of God were so clear to me, that he was to my intellect what the sun is to my eye, by which I see itself and all things; and he seemed mad to me that questioned whether there were a God; that any man should dream that the world was made by a conflux of irrational atoms, and reason came from that which had no reason, or that man, or any inferior being, was independent; or that all the being, power, wisdom, and goodness which we conversed with, had not a cause which in being, power, wisdom and goodness, did excel all that which it had caused in the world, and had not all that *formaliter vel eminenter* in itself which it communicated to all the creatures. These, and all the suppositions of the Atheist, have ever since been so visibly foolish and shameful to my apprehension, that I scarce find a capacity in myself of doubting of them; and whenever the Tempter hath joined anything against these, with the rest of his temptations, the rest have been the easier overcome, because of the overwhelming cogent evidences of a Deity, which are always before the eyes of my soul.

Ay! but this, alas, is not the true difficulty. No man in his senses can deny *God* in some sense or other, as *anima mundi*, *causa causarum*, &c., but it is the *personal, living, self-conscious* God, which it is so difficult, except by faith of the Trinity, to combine with an infinite being infinitely and irre-

sistibly causative. Τὸ ἐν καὶ πᾶν is the first dictate of mere human philosophy. Hence almost all the Greek philosophers were inconsistent Spinozists.

Ibid. p. 41.

But I remember some principles which I think he misapplieth, as also doth Mr. Thomas Hooker, Eccles. Polit., lib. 8, viz: that the King is *singulis major*, but *universis minor*. For I doubt not to prove that his power is so immediately from God, as that there is no recipient between God and him to convey it to him: only (as the King by his Charter maketh him a Mayor or Bailiff whom the Corporation chuseth so) God by his law, as an instrument, conveyeth power to that person or family whom the people consent to; and their consent is but a *conditio sine quâ non*, and not any proof that they are the fountain of power, or that ever the governing power was in them; and therefore for my part I am satisfied that all Politicks err, which tell us of a *majestas realis* in the people, as distinct from the *majestas personalis* in the Governors. And though it be true that *quo ad naturalem bonitatem et in genere causæ finalis* the King be *universis minor* (and therefore no war or action is good which is against the common good, which is the end of all government); yet as to *governing power* (which is the thing in question), the King is (as to the people) *Universis Major* as well as *Singulis*; for if the Parliament have any Legislative power, it cannot be as they are the body or people, &c. &c., but it is as the constitution twisteth them into the government.

Baxter here suffers himself to be deceived by the word *King*, which, in its Scriptural sense, does not mean a person, but the supreme power wherever rightfully vested.* In this sense, King, Lords,

* Does not Baxter seem to recognise this, in saying, "For if once legislation (the chief act of Government) be denied to be any part of Government at all, and affirmed to belong to the People as such, who are no Governors, all Government will hereby be overthrown."—S. C.

and Commons are our *King*, and in the execution of the laws, the King *represents* the whole, not *is*.

Ibid. p. 46.

When Prince Rupert put the inhabitants of Bolton in Lancashire to the sword (men, women, and children), an infant escaped alive, and was found lying by her father and mother, who were slain in the streets: an old woman took up the child and carried it home, and put it to her breast for warmth (having not had a child herself of about thirty years); the child drew milk, and so much that the woman nursed it up with breast-milk a good while: the committee desired some women to try her, and they found it true, and that she had a considerable proportion of milk for the child.

The great naturalist, Ray, adduces, in treating of the male teat (vide his 'Wisdom of God'), a yet stronger instance, that of a father whose breast furnished milk sufficient to preserve the life of the babe, whose mother had perished as they were travelling through the waste plains (then so at least), in the North of Italy, and on seeming good authority. I think that I have myself known a man who could have done it, under a conceived intense stimulus of pity and parental fondness.

Ibid. p. 116.

He had written a scornful book against the ministry, called *Jus Divinum Presbyterii*, and after two more against the Scripture and against me, one called *Fides Divina*, the other's title I remember not: his assertion to me was, that no man is bound to believe in Christ that doth not see confirming miracles himself with his own eyes.

Ay! but this was a natural consequence, honoured Baxter! of thy own step, who didst first introduce

into England the Grotian *ab extra* mode of defending Christianity, which either leads to this conclusion or to Socinianism.

Ibid. p. 123.

But fain they would have had my controversial writings (about Universal Redemption, Predetermination, &c., in which my judgment is more pleasing to them) ; but I was unwilling to publish them alone, while the practical writings are refused. And I give God thanks that I once saw times of greater liberty (though under an usurper) ; or else as far as I can discern, scarce any of my books had ever seen the light.

A just though severe sarcasm : for observe Baxter and his writings were at least as inimical to Cromwell as to the Diocesans ; nay, far, far more so. But the reign of Charles II. is the one great foul blotch of the Church of England.

Ibid. p. 125.

And those things which I was orthodox in, I had either insufficient reasons for, or a mixture of some sound and some insufficient ones, or else an insufficient apprehension of those reasons ; so that I scarcely knew what I seemed to know.

Excellent.

Lib. I. part ii. p. 141.

And I found in all antiquity, that though Infant Baptism was held lawful by the Church, yet some with Tertullian and Nazienzen thought it most convenient to make no haste, and the rest left the time of baptism to every one's liberty, and forced none to be baptized : insomuch as not only Constantine, Theodosius, and such others as were converted at years of discretion, but Augustine and many such as were the children of Christian parents (one or both), did defer their baptism much longer than I think they should have done. So that

in the Primitive Church some were baptized in infancy, and some at ripe age, and some a little before their death: and none were forced but all left free; and the only penalty (among men) of their delay was, that so long they were without the privileges of the Church, and were numbered but with the *Catechumens* or *Expectants*.

But it is plain that Baxter and the other Pædo-Baptists have misunderstood the word 'Infants' in the Greek and Latin Fathers, which should be translated *Minors*—all, in short, who had not the right of speaking for themselves in courts of law. Thus wards, slaves, &c. were *Νηπιιοι*, *Infantes*. Absolute *Babe*-baptism began on the most charitable motives in Africa in the time of Cyprian.

Ibid. p. 142.

In the Presbyterian way I disliked: 1. Their order of *Lay Elders*, who had no ordination, nor power to preach, nor to administer sacraments: for though I grant that Lay Elders, or the chief of the People, were oft employed to express the People's consent, and preserve their liberties, yet these were no church-officers at all, nor had any charge of private oversight of the flocks: and though I grant that one church had oft more Elders than did use to preach, and that many were most employed in private oversight, yet that was but a prudent dividing of their work, according to the gifts and parts of each, and not that any Elders wanted power of office to preach or administer sacraments when there was cause.

Now this is almost the only thing which I approve of and admire in the Presbyterian form, as constituting a medium and conducting link between the priest and the congregation, so that all may be one well-organised body spiritual without discontinuity; whereas our churches resemble insects, in which the head is connected with the body only by a *thread*, a conjunction disjunctive.

Ibid. p. 147.

Next this I wrote to Reverend and judicious Mr. Richard Vines about an attempt for concord with all, but especially the Episcopal party; and also about Lay-Elders; and his judgment fully concurred with me, and (besides others) he wrote to me the following letter:—

“Sir,—Though I should have desired,” &c. &c.

As finely perplexed, notably intertexted, and luminously obscure an epistle as I ever remember to have read. The bursting plenitude of its nihility absolutely *overwhelms* and *crushes* a simple understanding. *Vines*, indeed! Ay, and brambles too! but without either grapes or blackberries!

Ibid. p. 183.

3. Those that are so moderate as to take Infants for Church Members, though not to be baptized, let them openly make profession of it.

4. Those that do not take them for members, *if yet they have any more hope of them than of Heathen children*, or think it a duty in any sort to dedicate them to God, let them bring them to the congregation, and there in general profess their hopes and the grounds of them, and either dedicate them to God or profess their willingness to do it to the utmost of their interest and capacity, and desire God to accept them and bless them.

And what, in mercy's name, have the poor little heathen babies done, to be thus despondingly spoken of? Certainly no controversy can more senselessly produce anger and separation than that of baptism. For the Anti-pædo-Baptists lay no saving stress on the ceremony, and therefore their baptism amounts to no more than our Confirmation.

Ibid. p. 184.

Let us declare that though one part be confident that Infant Baptism is a duty, and the other that it is a sin, yet we judge that they that err here, while they sincerely desire to know the truth, may be saved, notwithstanding that error.

A *hard* dispute! O mercy, mercy, dear Lord, on the intolerance of thy erring creatures! Did not the Lord himself say of *unbaptised* children 'of such are the kingdom of heaven?'

Ibid. p. 185.

It must be no easy matter with us to believe, that the Head and Shepherd of the Church hath *de facto* had a Church of a false constitution, as to the very materials and enterance, from the beginning to this day, except a few within this twenty years that troubled it in a corner of the world: and that now in the end of the world, we must expect a right constitution, as if Christ had slept, or regarded not his Church, or been the head of a body which he disowned: we cannot hastily believe such things. I say again—no Church, no Christ; for no body, no head: and if no Christ then, there is no Christ now. Take heed, therefore, how you un-Church, or disown the whole Church of Christ in the very frame for so many ages.

Might not the Baptist answer, 'When Christ cometh, shall he find faith in the world? I say unto you, nay.' Besides, this reasoning compels a favourable judgment of the Romish European Church during ages by no means consonant with facts.

Ibid. p. 193.

And on the other extreme, Cromwell himself, and such others, commonly gave out that they could not understand

what the magistrate had to do in matters of religion : and they thought that all men should be left to their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose but he should be ensnared in the guilt of persecution.

One among a thousand proofs of Cromwell's attachment to the best interests of human nature !

Ibid. p. 197.

10. Though it be not of necessity, yet would it be of great conveniency and use, if the magistrate would be with us, or appoint some substitute to represent him in all our assemblies, that he may be a witness of our proceedings, and see that we do no wrong to the Commonwealth, and avoid all suspicions that may be occasioned by rumours : but principally that he may see how far it is meet for him in any case to second us by his power, &c.

The magistrate's duty is not to punish or attempt to prevent *all* acts that may indirectly and in their remote consequences *injure* society : for if this were admitted, the statute *de Hereticis comburendis* might be justified : but such acts as are directly incompatible with the *peace* and *security* of society, leaving all else to the influences of religion, education, sympathy, necessity of maintaining a character, &c. But Baxter's error was the error of his age, with the exception of a handful of Quakers, Independents, and philosophic Deists.

Ibid. § 50.

When Cromwell's faction were making him Protector, they drew up a thing which they called *The Government of England*, &c. Therein they determined that all should have liberty or free exercise of their religion, who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ. After this he called a Parliament, which examined this instrument of Government ; and when they

came to those words, the orthodox party affirmed, *That if they spake de re, and not de nomine*, 'Faith in God by Jesus Christ' could contain no less than the fundamentals of religion: whereupon it was purposed that all should have a due measure of liberty who professed the *fundamentals*. Hereupon the Committee, &c. &c.

The § 50 proves the danger of any, even the most moderate, test of religious faith.

Ibid. pp. 197-8.

My own judgment was this, that we must distinguish between the sense (or matter) and the words; and that it's only the sense that is primarily and properly our fundamentals; and the words no further than as they are needful to express that sense to others, or represent it to our own conception: that the word 'Fundamentals' being metaphorical and ambiguous, the word 'Essentials' is much fitter; it being nothing but what is essential or constitutive of true religion, which is understood by us usually when we speak of fundamentals: that *quoad rem* there is no more essential or fundamental in religion but what is contained in our baptismal covenant,—I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and give up myself in covenant to him, renouncing the Flesh, the World, and the Devil.

Baxter often expresses himself so as to excite a suspicion that he was inclined to Sabellianism.

Ibid. pp. 242-3.

The Bishops' Answer to the first Proposals of the London Ministers who attempted the work of reconciliation, &c.

§ 8.

And we cannot but wonder that the administration of government by one single person should by them be affirmed to be so liable to corruptions, partialities, tyrannies, and other evils, that for the avoiding thereof it should be needful

to have others joined with him in the power of government; which if applied to the civil state is a most dangerous insinuation, and we verily believe what experience and the constitutions of kingdoms, armies, and even private families sufficiently confirmeth (in all which the government is administered by the authority of one single person, although the advice of others may be requisite also, but without any share in the government), that the government of many is not only most subject to all the aforesaid evils and inconveniences, but more likely also to breed and foment perpetual factions, both in Church and State, than the government by one is or can be. And since no government can certainly prevent all evils, that which is liable to the least and fewest is certainly to be preferred.

What a base appeal to the plan and passion of Charles II. for arbitrary power and despotic monarchy! what a wicked soothing and fomenting of it! From the furious insolent spirit of this answer, I suppose it to have been drawn up by or under Sheldon.

Ibid. p. 243.

It being a great mistake that the personal inspection of the Bishop is in all places of his diocese at all times necessary. For by the same reason, neither princes, nor governors of provinces, nor generals of armies, nor mayors of great cities, nor ministers of great parishes, could ever be able to discharge their duties in their several places and charges.

Answered by Christ's '*But it shall not be so among you.*'

Ibid. § 10.

We confess the Bishops did (as by the law they were enabled), &c.

Still 'the Law;'—as if the whole question had not been whether 'the Law' ought not to be altered.

(*At the foot of p. 243.*)

The reign of Charles I. was at once the glory and the shame of the English Diocesan Church; glory for the vast and various learning and stupendous talents of its Prelates and dignified Clergy; shame, for their atrocious cruelties, and rapid approximations to the superstitions, though not to the doctrinal errors of Popery. But the reign of Charles II., subtracting that which had attained its full growth in his father's life, was the mere infamy of the Church—a leprosy, some white discolorations from which are still eating, like a dry rot, into the walls of the Temple.

Ibid. p. 244.

Upon all which consideration it is, that officers in the court, freemen in cities and corporate towns, masters and fellows of colleges in the Universities, &c., are required, at their admission into their several respective places to give oaths for well and truly performing their several respective duties, their liableness to punishment in case of non-performance accordingly notwithstanding. Neither doth it seem reasonable that such persons as have themselves with great severity prescribed and exacted antecedent conditions of their communion not warranted by law, should be exempted from the tie of such oaths and subscriptions as the laws require.

What a vindictive unchristian spirit of recrimination breathes here! Those who had the chief hand in drawing up the proposals, had opposed the former tyranny as firmly as that now impending.

Ibid. p. 245.

Nor too tedious in the whole. It's well known that some men's prayers before and after sermon, have been usually not

much shorter, and sometimes much longer, than the whole Church Service.

Petty womanish recrimination again ! Does 15 prevent 10 from being 10 ? or A's being quite black justify B for being blacker than it ought to be ?

Ibid. p. 245.

4. Nor the prayers too short. The wisdom of the Church, both in ancient and latter times, hath thought it a fitter means for relieving the infirmities of the meaner sort of people (which are the major part of most congregations), to contrive several petitions into sundry shorter collects or prayers, than to comprehend them altogether in a continued style, or without interruption.

To this I fully agree.

Ibid.

5. Nor the repetitions unmeet. There are examples of the like repetition frequent in the Psalms and other parts of Scripture. Not to mention the unhandsome tautologies that oftentimes happen, and can scarce be avoided in the extemporary and undigested prayers that are made ; especially by persons of meaner gifts.

But no one was then pleading for an extemporary service. This, too, is mere recrimination.

Ibid. p. 246. *Of Ceremonies.*

As the Lord hath declared himself jealous in matters concerning the substance of his worship, so hath he left the Church at liberty for circumstantialia to determine concerning particulars according to prudence as occasion shall require, so as the foresaid general rules be still observed. And therefore the imposing and using indifferent ceremonies, is not varying from the will of God, nor is there made thereby

any addition to, or detraction from, the holy duties of God's worship. Nor doth the same any way hinder the communication of God's grace or comfort in the performance of such duties.

Curious logic! The 'using' may not be 'varying,' but the 'imposing'—that is the contraband ware! There limps the '*Ergo!*'

Ibid. § 24.

That the ceremonies have been matter of contention in this or any other Church, was not either from the nature of the thing enjoined, or the enjoining of the same by lawful authority: but partly from the weakness of some men's judgments, unable to search into the reason of things: and partly from the unsubduedness of some men's spirits more apt to contend, than willing to submit their private opinions to the public judgment of the Church.

True Inquisitor's logic! But ought not the foreseen certainty of these evils to have modified and aided in forming the public judgment of the Church? Would not St. Paul have advised this, who even in things not essential bids the stronger give way to their weaker brethren?

Ibid. § 27.

The separation that hath been made from the Church was from the taking a scandal where none was given: the Church having fully declared her sense touching the ceremonies imposed, as things not in their nature necessary but indifferent. But was chiefly occasioned by the practice, and defended from the principles of those that refused conformity to the *Law, the just rule and measure of the Church's unity.*

Christ's kingdom then is of this world! *The Law!*

Ibid. pp. 246-7.

The nature of things being declared to be mutable sheweth that they may therefore be changed, as they that are in authority shall see it expedient; but it is no proof at all that it is therefore expedient that it should be actually changed. Yet it's a sufficient caution against the opinion (or objection rather) of their being held by the imposers either necessary or substantial of worship. Besides, this argument, if it were of any force, would infer an expediency of the often changing even of good laws; whereas the change of laws, although liable to some inconveniencies, without great and evident necessity, hath been by wise men even accounted a thing not only imprudent, but of evil, and sometimes pernicious consequence.

An evident sophism, εἰς ἄλλο γένος. Baxter confines the remark to *religious* indifferent ceremonies; and adds a very wise reason, which is here passed over.

Ibid. p. 247.

The Lord hath entrusted *Governours* to provide, not only that things necessary in God's worship be duly performed, but also that things advisedly enjoined, though not otherways necessary, should be orderly and duly observed. The too great neglect whereof would so cut the sinews of authority, that it would become first infirm, and then contemptible.

In what part of the New Testament has the Lord troubled these Gentlemen with any concern in any part of the business? St. Paul cries Shame! on those Christians who appealed to Courts of *Law*, even in their matters of temporal interest. This, indeed, is now a precept not practicable, but the *spirit* of it is still valid.

Ibid. § 32.

But why they that confess that, in the judgment of all, the things here mentioned * are not to be valued with the peace of the Church, should yet, after they are established by law, disturb the peace of the Church about them, we understand not.

This is the most plausible, and therefore *decanatissimum sophisma* of the Herodian Diocesans. And yet a mere sophism it is. For whoever thought these things of *saving importance*, would err even to a most perilous heresy. *Ergo*, all true members of the Church of England must regard these holidays and ceremonies *at best*, as among the ἀδιόφορα, things of mutable expedience: while the objectors considered them as *dangerous* follies, though not *condemnative*; inasmuch as they had a tendency to lead back men's minds to Popish superstitions, and had occasioned, yea, and still do occasion, the vulgar to elevate circumstantials into essentials.

Ibid. p. 271.

If all presentments and appeals be made to the Bishop and his consistory alone, it will take from us the parish discipline which is granted us, and cast almost all discipline out of the Church. As is most apparent, &c.

The impossibility of Christian discipline with a Church established by Law, and all the permitted acts of which have the force of penal or compulsory Laws, has always appeared to me the objection that bears hardest on Church Establishment. Where Law begins, Discipline ends. This Baxter did not

* Three ceremonies, viz., the Surplice, Cross after baptism, and Bowing at the name of Jesus.—*Ib.* S. C.

at all times see clearly. But the Diocesan form of an Established Church, as it exists in England, adds to this inherent incongruity all possible external impediments. And yet

Old Church ! with all thy faults I love thee still.—

Yea, with a filial, though not with a blind, adherence.

Ibid. p. 272.

2. We beseech your Majesty to understand, that it is not our meaning by the word 'abolishing' to crave a prohibition against your own or other men's liberty in the things in question ; but it is a full liberty that we desire ; such as should be in *unnecessary things* ; and such as will tend to the concord of your people, viz., *that there be no law or canon for or against them, commanding, recommending or prohibiting them* : as now there is none for any particular gesture in singing of Psalms, *where Liberty preserveth an uninterrupted Unity.*

Admirable!

Ibid. p. 274.

A little before this, the Bishop's party had appointed, at our request, a meeting with some of us, to try how near we could come in preparation to what was to be resolved on. Accordingly Dr. Morley, Dr. Hinchman, and Dr. Cosins met Dr. Reignolds, Mr. Calamy, and myself ; and after a few roving discourses we parted without bringing them to any particular concessions for abatement, &c.

This was the Dr. Cosins who formed and left the present Durham Library. He was deeply versed in the Schoolmen, *ipse plusquam satis scholasticus*. Yet I could find but one work of Duns Scotus's—that *De Sententiis*.

Ibid. p. 276, § 108.

After all this a day was appointed for his Majesty to peruse the declaration as it was drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, and to allow what he liked and alter the rest, upon the hearing of what both sides should say: accordingly he came to the Lord Chancellor's house, and with him the Duke of Albemarle, and Duke of Ormond (as I remember), the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Anglesey, the Lord Hollis, &c., and Dr. Sheldon then Bishop of London, Dr. Morley then Bishop of Worcester, &c.

This was the incendiary! this Sheldon the most virulent enemy and poisoner of the English Church. Alas! she still feels the *taint* in her very bones. I look on Gardner as canonisable compared with Sheldon.

Ibid. p. 277.

Thereupon he read, as an addition to the declaration, that 'others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no Justice of Peace or officer disturb them.' When he had read it, he again desired them all to think on it, and give their advice: but all were silent. The Presbyterians all perceived, as soon as they heard it, that it would secure the liberty of the Papists, &c.

Another sad proof of the bad effects of imperfect theory respecting religious toleration. How easy would it otherwise have been to have excepted and excluded the Papists, not as religionists, but as having an actual temporal magistracy, under the false name of spiritual, obstinately independent of the supreme power, and owning a foreign Sovereign.

Ibid. p. 278.

And here you may note, by the way, the fashion of these times and the state of the Presbyterians: any man that was

for a spiritual serious way of worship (though he were for moderate episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his profession, was called commonly a Presbyterian as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joined himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other sect which might afford him a more odious name.

I suspect that it would have puzzled the mild and kind-hearted old man sorely, if he (Baxter, I mean), had been asked: Well! and what would you have done with these sectaries, Independents, Socinians, &c. Hang them? Banish them? Dungeon them? The admission that even an avowed *Atheist* may, *for that cause only*, be rightfully punished by the civil magistrate, doth, by incontestable consequence justify and legitimate the whole fire and faggot system, *de Hereticis cujuslibet generis et omnium specierum*. Even now unlimited toleration is only a thing, half *fashion*, half religious indifference. The *common* arguments in favour of it, such as those adduced by Locke, had been fairly and fully and repeatedly confuted by both Romish and Protestant Divines; and the *true* grounds it would not perhaps *even now* be quite safe for a writer to bring forwards. We owe the blessing wholly to God, with no intervention or instrumentality of Human Wisdom.

Ibid. p. 279, § 116.

Before this I was called to preach at Court before the King (by the Lord Chamberlain, who had sworn me his Chaplain, and invited me under that name): and after sermon it pleased his Majesty to send the Lord Chamberlain to require me to print it. And the Earl of Lauderdale told me, that when he spake to the King of the great number of citizens that wrote it in characters, and said that some of them would publish it, the King answered, "I will prevent that, for I will have it published." Yet when this sermon

came abroad, Dr. Thomas Pierce went up and down raging against me, for calling myself on the title-page 'his Majesty's Chaplain,' which if I had not it would have been taken as a contempt, and for saying it was printed by his Majesty's special command: and he renewed all the railings which in print he had lately vented against me.

Who dare presume himself secure from the sin of calumnious bigotry, (except by the opposite extreme of irreligious indifference,) when such men could be capable of such wicked outrages? But an infatuated *ἀνακτοδουλεία*, an absolute Carololatρεία, strongly marked in his fine Latin epitaph on Charles the First, combined with a raging zeal for Diocesan Episcopacy to upset him.

Ibid. p. 280, § 117.

That the reader may understand this the better, by knowing the occasion of his malice, this Mr. Thomas Pierce, being a confident man, and having written somewhat in defence of Grotius, as a judicious, peaceable Protestant, in opposition to some passages in my *Christian Concord*, where I warn the Episcopal party to take heed of Grotianism that was creeping in upon them. I did thereupon write a little collection out of the late writings of Grotius, especially his *Discussio Apologetici Rivetiani*, to prove him to have turned Papist; and that Popery was indeed his religion, though he communicated with no Church; for he expressly pleadeth for our consenting to the Council of Trent, and all other general Councils, as the Churches Law, &c.

This surely must have been some mistake of Baxter's. That Grotius sighed for a reconciliation of the Roman and Protestant Churches is well known; but that he should go beyond the French Catholics, and even the Spanish, is to me incredible. Baxter seems not to have read the works themselves, but to have

relied on the authority of the French author of *Grotius Papizans*.

Ibid.

But Mr. Pierce was vehemently furious at my book, and wrote a volume against me full of *ingenuous* lies and railing ; for he had no better way to defend Grotius or himself.

One of the very few improvements in our language since the time of the Restoration is the separation of 'ingenious' and 'ingenuous.' The prior writers confound them.

Ibid. p. 282.

Baxter's Letter to the Lord Chancellor upon the offer of a Bishopric.

My Lord,—Your great favour and condescension encourages me to give you more of my sense of the business which your Lordship was pleased to propound. I was, till I saw the Declaration, much dejected, and resolved against a Bishopric as unlawful. But finding there, more than on October 22, his Majesty granted us, in the Pastor's *consent*, &c., the Rural Dean with the whole ministry enabled to exercise as much persuasive pastoral power as I could desire (who believe the Church hath no other kind of power, *unless communicated from the magistrate*), &c.

Even this says the Inquisition ! But what right has a Christian pastor to admit, much less to invite, the *Wolf* of temporal power, even against the scabbiest sheep of his flock ? Oh ! this, this was the dire error that ruined the otherwise good cause of these good men !

Ibid. p. 291.

Letter of thanks to Mr. Baxter from the Court and Governor in New England.

—All that we desire is liberty to serve God according to the Scriptures: liberty unto error and sin, or to set up another rule besides the Scriptures, we neither wish to be allowed to ourselves, nor would we willingly allow it unto others.

That is, alas! alas! according to *our* interpretation of the Scriptures. So say not a few even of the Romanists.

Ibid. p. 307.

Dr. Horton never came among us at all, nor Dr. Tuckney, alleging his backwardness to speak, though he had been twice the Doctor of the Chair in Cambridge.

A learned man, but a *shy cock*. His trimming, however, the effect perhaps of timidity, died with him; his works still remain a treasure to Christ's Church.

Ibid. p. 308.

The exceptions against the Common Prayer which I offered the brethren when they were drawing up theirs.*

I really grieve that such an eminent saint of God as Baxter should, against the advice of his own friends, have preserved such weak and *pettish* criticisms.

Ibid.

The Common Prayer-Book is guilty of great defectiveness, disorder, and vain repetitions, &c.

* The exceptions occupy from page 308 inclusive to page 333 of the folio volume. The first six are given by way of specimen.—S. C.

1. Order requireth that we begin with Reverent Prayer to God, for his assistance and acceptance, which is not done.

2. That the Creed and Decalogue, containing the Faith, in which we profess to assemble for God's worship, and the Law, which we have broken by our sins, should go before the Confession and Absolution,—or at least before the praises of the Church; which they do not.

3. The Confession omitteth not only Original Sin, but all actual sin, as specified by the particular commandments violated, &c. &c. Whereas Confession, being the expression of repentance, should be more particular, as repentance itself should be.

But this is public, common, prayer.

4. When we have craved help for God's prayers, before we come to them, we abruptly put in the petition for speedy deliverance. *O God make speed to save us*, &c., without any intimation of the danger that we desire deliverance from; and without any other petition conjoined.

5. It is disorderly in the manner, to sing the Scripture in a plain tune, after the manner of reading.

6. 'The Lord be with you,' 'And with thy spirit,' being petitions for divine assistance, come in abruptly in the midst or near the end of Morning Prayer; and 'Let us pray,' is adjoined, when we were before in prayer.

Oh! these seem to me very captious and unthinking objections. Had good Baxter considered the Liturgy *psychologically*, or as a grand composition of devotional *music*, gradually attuning, preparing, animating, and *working up*, the feelings of men to *public* and *common* prayer, and thanks, and glory-giving, he would have seen the excellence of much which he here condemns. Above all, he should have borne in mind that public prayer and private prayer, nay, I may add an intermediate, viz., domestic prayer, are quite distinct—much in each incongruous with the others—and that *common* prayer neither can, nor

was ever intended to, supersede individual prayer. The direful lethargy of the *mumpsimus* Church hirelings then distorted, and alas *still* too often distorts, the judgments of warm and earnest Gospel preachers.

Ibid. p. 308.

The Litany, which should contain all the ordinary petitions of the Church, omitteth very many particulars, &c.; and it is exceeding disorderly, following no just rules of method: having begged pardon of our sins, and deprecated vengeance, it proceedeth to *evil in general*, and some *few sins in particular*, &c.

Who might not suppose that Baxter required the soul to be *sylogising* all the while it was praying?

Ibid. p. 309.

Next is a prayer against *adversity* and *persecutions*, which was done before; and both here, and through the rest of the prayers, the deprecation of bodily suffering hath very much too large a proportion, while spirituals are too generally and briefly touched, which is unbecoming the Church of Christ, which mindeth not the things of the *flesh*, but of the *spirit*. (*Rom.* viii. 5, 6, 7.)

This is an especial trait of wisdom in the compilers of our Liturgy; it was to be *common* prayer. Now the spirit prayeth to the Spirit *ineffably*; but outward evils, taken as God's trials or chastisements, are to all men intelligible, and the combining them with devotional faith and feelings of the best practical influence.

Ibid. p. 310. *Exceptions continued.*

Baxter seems constantly to overlook, that our Liturgy is a form of *common* prayer, for a promis-

cuous audience, and charitably framed to rouse the inattentive as often as possible; and to provide something that will suit each; *some* particularly, and which yet *all*, in a spiritual sense at least, may use pertinently.

Ibid.

The first Collect on Good Friday hath no petition, but that God will 'graciously behold this his family;' inconveniently also expressed: the pronoun *this* seeming plainly to mean, that particular congregation; which is not to be called *God's family*, but part of it.

Why not? Should I not say 'this family,' though many of my sons and daughters were elsewhere?

Ibid. p. 311.

That on Trinity Sunday asketh nothing at all, but 'through the steadfastness of our faith to be defended evermore from all adversity:' a petition so frequently repeated, as if we would persuade the enemies of the Church that we are a worldly, carnal people, and principally seek the things that perish; when indeed it is a sin to pray to be 'evermore defended from all adversity;' when God hath told us, that through many tribulations we must enter into his kingdom, &c.

But surely the compilers did not mean 'adversity' in this carnal sense; but for whatever opposes our permanent well-being.

Ibid.

No more reason is there for the order of the Requests on the fourth Sunday after Trinity, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth (which only prays God, whose Providence is never deceived, to put 'away from us all hurtful things, and give us those things that be profitable:' all mere

generals, in which no particular repentance or desires are expressed). So also on the ninth Sunday, &c. &c.

But all this, and nine-tenths of the foregoing, asks impossible or inconvenient things. The different prayers were not of necessity to be strikingly appropriate to each day ; but to bring in all at *some* time or other, which *could* not be presented to the mind at *each* time. They were *opportunities* for wise prayers, rather than the *occasions* of them.

Ibid. p. 313.

The conclusion that 'the child is regenerate,' and the thanksgiving for regenerating it by the Spirit, are doubly faulty : first, in concluding that *all children baptized are regenerate*, when we admit those (before mentioned) whose interest in the covenant, which Baptism sealeth, cannot be proved : that is, such whose parents can lay no just claim to the grace of the covenant ; at least, here is a private opinion thrust into our Liturgy. Secondly, in concluding all infants regenerate by the Holy Ghost, when so many learned divines think that it is but a relative regeneration, that is ascertained them ; and the controversy is yet undecided.

It is now the fashion (see Prettyman and Magee) to assert that 'regeneration' is used by all the best Fathers, as a mere synonym equipollent to Baptism ; and so they try to evade the consequences drawn by the Anti-pædo-baptists against the baptism of infants, as insusceptible of those spiritual concomitances of the will, without which Regeneration (in a spiritual sense) seems either magical or a mere *word*. But how easily is the argument turned against them ! If, in the opinion of the Primitive Doctors, Regeneration means Baptism, then Baptism must have meant Regeneration ; but Regeneration implies a concomitance of the will : *Ergo*, &c.

Ibid. p. 314.

In the Rubrick for Confirmation, the order that Children shall be confirmed when they can say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and answer the questions of the Catechism, seems contrary to the first and third reasons, which require that solemn renewal or owning of their covenant, which ordinarily they are not ripe for, of many years after they can say the Catechism.

This does appear *to me* unanswerable except by an admission, which truth might dictate, yet Christian prudence hardly permit; viz., that an Established National Church is not only a most useful, but even a necessary thing; and yet that it *is* not and that it *ought* not to be, judged of by the rules of an *elect* Christian congregation. 'Cast thy bread on the waters,' &c., seems the proper motto of the Established Church of England.

Ibid.

The prayers and administration of Confirmation suppose all the children brought to be confirmed to have the Spirit of Christ and the forgiveness of all their sins; whereas a great number of children at that age (that we say not the far greater part) do live a carnal, careless life, and show no love to God above all, no prevalent self-denial, mortification, nor faith in Christ, and heavenly-mindedness, nor serious repentance for the life of sin which they continue in after baptism; therefore to these children Confirmation is not to be administered, till, besides the saying of the Catechism, they make a credible profession of faith, repentance, and obedience: and to them that do not thus, Confirmation is a gross and perilous abuse.

Poor little sinful darlings! This was the cant of the age.

Ibid. p. 315.

In the Communion of the Sick, the ancient custom of the Church was, where time and place allowed it, to send the Deacon to the sick, at the time of the celebration, with a portion of the consecrated bread and wine, which is here omitted.

Me judice, a very wise omission ; for the practice almost inevitably leads to superstition, and to the notion of some *magical* charm infused into the elements.

Ibid.

It is a great disorder that we have so many *prayers*, instead of many petitions in one prayer : the gravity and seriousness requisite in our prayers to God, and the examples left on record in Scripture, do persuade us, when we have many petitions at once to put up to God, which all have a connexion in nature and necessity, that there should be such a connexion of our desires and requests, and many of them should constitute one prayer ; whereas the Common Prayer-Book, in its numerous Collects, doth make oftentimes as many prayers as petitions.

Baxter for ever forgets that at Kidderminster he had a *select* congregation, one perhaps of a thousand ; but that the national Church has to provide for *promiscuous congregations*.

Ibid.

Hence it comes to pass that the holy and reverend name of God is made the matter of unnecessary tautologies, while half the prayer is made up of his attributes and addresses to him, and with conclusions containing the mention of his name and kingdom, and the merits of his Son ; even in holy worship we should fear using God's name unreverently and in vain.

This is most true ; but with what tenfold force

does it apply to common *extemporary* prayer among Dissenters !

Ibid. p. 317.

That in regard the Litany (though otherwise containing in it many holy petitions) is so framed, that the petitions for a great part are uttered only by the people, which we think not to be so consonant to Scripture, which makes the Minister the mouth of the people to God in prayer, the particulars thereof may be composed into one solemn prayer to be offered by the Minister unto God for the people.

No wonder that the bishops and their party conquered, when the excepters gave them such advantages. Many a proselyte has *the Church* gained from *the Meeting-house* through the disgust occasioned by the long-winded, preaching prayers of the dissenting ministers, and the utter exclusion of the congregation from all *active* share in the public devotion.

Ibid. p. 321.

Paragraphs marked thus—N., appear to me weak ; those with NN. not only weak, but of ill consequence.

Ibid. p. 322.

By this Rubric, &c., the Gloria Patri is appointed to be said six times ordinarily in every Morning and Evening Service, frequently eight times in a morning, &c., for the avoiding of which appearance of evil, we desire it may be used but once in the Morning, and once in the Evening. N.

In regard that the wages of sin is death, we desire that this clause may be thus altered, From Fornication, and all other heinous, or grievous sins. N.

We desire the term "all" may be advised upon, as seeming liable to just exceptions, and that it may be considered

whether it may not better be put indefinitely, Those that travel, &c., rather than universally. N.

Ibid. p. 324.

That instead of those short prayers of the people, intermixed with the several commandments, the Minister after the reading of all may conclude with a suitable prayer. NN.

Ibid. p. 326.

There being divers learned, pious, and peaceable Ministers, who not only judge it unlawful to baptise children, whose parents both of them are atheists, infidels, heretics, or unbaptised, but also such whose parents are excommunicate persons, &c., or otherwise notorious and scandalous sinners; we desire they may not be enforced to baptise the children of such, until they have made due profession of their repentance. NN.

If it be right and efficacious to baptise children at all, why should these poor darlings be excepted, for no other reason but that they are so unfortunate as to have wicked parents? If baptism be a good, the denial of it is a misfortune; and is it Christian charity to add misfortune to misfortune, and that to poor worse than orphan children?

Ibid. p. 327.

We desire that Baptism may not be administered in a private place at any time, unless by a lawful minister, and in the presence of a competent number: that where it is evident that any child hath been so baptised, no part of the administration may be reiterated in public, under any limitations: and therefore we see no need of any Liturgy in that case. NN.

Beyond all doubt every sincere Christian is so far a priest of the Gospel, as that, in case of necessity, he may and ought to baptise.

Ibid. p. 329.

We conceive that it is not a sufficient qualification for Confirmation, that children be able *memoriter* to repeat the Articles of the Faith, commonly called, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and to answer to some questions of this short Catechism; for it is often found that children are able to do this at four or five years old.

This is a sound and weighty objection, confirmed by constant experience.

Ibid. p. 331.

Seeing the institution of marriage was before the Fall, and so before the promise of Christ, as also for that the said passage in this Collect* seems to countenance the opinion of making matrimony a sacrament, we desire that clause may be altered or omitted. N.

Ibid. p. 332.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, &c.: We therefore commit his Body to the Ground in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to Eternal Life.

These words cannot in truth be said of persons living and dying in open and notorious sins.

We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miseries of this sinful world, &c.

These words may harden the wicked, and are inconsistent with the largest rational charity.

That when we depart this Life, we may rest in Him, as our hope is this our Brother doth.

These words cannot be used with respect to those persons.

* "Consecrated the state of Matrimony to such an excellent Mystery."

who have not by their actual repentance given any ground for the hope of their blessed estate.

Sound objections. Indeed, no month passes in which the common people do not make the same observation, when any one of notoriously bad character is burying.

Ibid. p. 346.

Oppon. Arg. 1.—To enjoin all ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's day, is sinful.

Ibid. p. 347.

And for the other minor denied, though the books were not present, I alleged the 20th Canon, Concil. Nicæn. and Concil. Trull., and Tertullian oft, and Epiphanius, with the common consent of ancient writers, who tell us it was the tradition and custom of the universal Church not to adore by genuflexion on any Lord's day, or on any day between Easter and Whitsuntide. *Ergo*: not so to adore in taking the Sacrament.

I think that *this* one argument might have been fairly turned against Baxter; for by the implied allowance of genuflexion on *week* days, with the exception of the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide, it seems evident that the standing up was intended as a symbolical remembrancing of our Lord's resurrection and of our own: *ergo*—one of those mere arbitrary ceremonies which led to the final corruption and apostasy both of the Roman (or Western), and of the Greek or Oriental churches. It is, however, undeniable, that Baxter truly asserted the primitive custom to be that of receiving the sacrament sitting.

Ibid. p. 354.

So to receive one another as Christ received us, to the glory of God the Father, and this not to doubtful disputation (or not to judge their doubtful thoughts), and not to despise or judge one another, but to take each other for such as do what we do to the Lord, and let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind ; and so as to distinguish the points that we differ about from those in which God's kingdom doth consist, in which whosoever serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and should be approved of men ; and so as to follow the things that edify and make for peace, and not lay a stumbling-block or occasion of falling in our brother's way, or destroy him by the uncharitable use of our liberty, knowing it is sin to him that esteemeth it sin ; but to forbear ourselves to use those things in controversy whereby our brother stumbleth or is offended, because he is damned if he use them doubtingly ; and therefore to have the belief of their lawfulness to ourselves before God, and to bear with the infirmities of the weak, and please them to their edification, and not to please ourselves, that so being like-minded one towards another, that with one mind and one mouth we may glorify God : We say, Thus to receive is not consistent with the denial of communion in the Sacrament for those faults. But such was the receiving required by the Apostle, *Rom.* xiv. xv.—*Ergo*, &c.

This is a most beautiful paragraph, and the more so to a *true* taste for the seeming carelessness of its construction, like the *happily* dishevelled hair of a lovely woman.

Ibid.

He that can seriously ponder all these expressions, and the scope of the Holy Ghost, and yet can believe that all this receiving is but such as consisteth with forbidding them communion in the Lord's Supper, which then was so great a part of the daily communion of the Church, and also may consist with the further process against people and ministers

to excommunication, and prohibition to preach the Gospel, which is now pleaded for in our case, is of so strange a temperature of understanding, as that we can have little hope by any Scripture evidence to convince him.

Most true! Alas, that the *best* of all national churches should have had an era so disgraceful as that of the Restoration!

Ibid. p. 369.—*Innovations in Doctrine.*

Some have maintained that the Lord's Day is kept merely by Ecclesiastical constitution, and that the day is changeable.

So did the learned and saintly martyrs full of faith; yea, Luther himself. Selden too condemns the sabbatical transferred to the dominical day, as the basest of Judaic superstitions. The best argument for the cheerfully serious observation of Sunday in rest, meditation, sober recreation, &c. is, that there *can* be no sound argument against it, or for the change of the day or interval. I consider it, in our present state, as a *command* of natural religion, favoured, though not compelled, by the Gospel revelation. Were an angel to trumpet it from the clouds, the duty of observing it could not be more manifest to my reason than it already is.

Ibid. p. 370.

Some have absolutely denied original sin, and so evacuated the cross of Christ, as in a disputation at Oxon.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor doth. If ever book was calculated to drive men to despair, it is Bishop Jeremy Taylor's on Repentance. It first opened my eyes to Arminianism, and that Calvinism is *practically* a far, far more soothing and consoling system.

Ibid. p. 384.

By this means there was a great unanimity in the ministers, and the greater number were cast out : and as far as I could perceive, it was by some designed that it might be so. Many a time did we beseech them that they would have so much regard to the souls of men, and to the honour of England, and of the Protestant religion, as that without any necessity at all they would not impose feared perjury upon them, nor that which conscience and common esteem, and Popish adversaries, would all call perjury : that Papists might not have this to cast in our teeth, and call the Protestants a perjured people, nor England or Scotland perjured lands. Oft have we proved to them that their cause and interest required no such thing, &c. It seemed to be accounted the one thing necessary, which no reason must be heard against, that the Presbyterians must be forced to do that which they accounted public perjury, or to be cast out of trust and office, in Church and Commonwealth. And by this means a far greater number were laid by than otherwise would have been, and the few that yielded to conformity they thought would be despicable and contemptible as long as they lived. A noble revenge, and worthy of the actors.

What Baxter suspected is now known to be true. The new acts were imposed by Sheldon's advice for the express purpose of ejecting all the old godly ministers, and to put in their places another generation, that might (as they effectively did), "wean the people from making a *fuss* about religion ;" *i. e.* from thinking or caring about it.

Ibid. p. 387.

These sects are numerous ; some tolerable, and some intolerable, &c. &c. Many of them (the Behmenists, Fifth-Monarchy men, Quakers, and some Anabaptists) are proper Fanatics, looking too much to revelations within, instead of the Holy Scriptures.

Baxter makes the usual mistake of writing *Fanatic*

when he clearly means *Enthusiast*. The Field-Methodists are fanatics, *i. e. circa fana densâ turbâ concalefacti*; those who catch heat by crowding together round the same *Fane*. Fanaticism is the *fever of superstition*. Enthusiasm, on the contrary, implies an undue (or when used in a good sense, an unusual) vividness of ideas, as opposed to perceptions, or of the obscure inward feelings.

Ibid. p. 411.

They say, That all the world confesseth that a vow obligeth *in re necessariâ*, to that which is antecedently a duty: but they propound it to consideration, whether all these things following, which are in the Covenant, are certainly no duties antecedently.

The first instance in which I have found Baxter *unfair*. See the covenant itself, p. 391, and you will find the oath, not for the preservation of the reformed religion in general, but for the *preservation* of the reformed religion in *Scotland*, and the *reformation* of the English Church—in other words, for the substitution of the Knoxo-Calvinistic Scoto-Genovan form of Synodical Presbytery for the Episcopal government of the Anglican Church.

Ibid. p. 412.

That though a subject ought to take an oath in the sense of his rulers who impose it, as far as he can understand it; yet a man that taketh an oath from a robber to save his life, is not alway bound to take it in the imposer's sense, if he take it not against the proper sense of the words.

Bo-peep with conscience. Either the robber's oath obliges or not. I think not. The guilt of the perjury lies with the *necessitating* imposer. But if

it does, then it must be kept like any other binding oath or promise, *i. e.* neither in the sense of the imposer nor in that of the imposed, but in that sense which the latter understood the former to have imposed it.

Ibid. p. 413.

If we teach men that the bad ends of the imposers do disoblige men from performing vows *materially* good, take heed lest it follow that it will disoblige them much more from obeying commands and laws materially good; and then every subject will take himself to be disobliged, who is but confident that persecution, oppression, &c., were his rulers' ends. What if a man for evil ends command me to obey the King, &c.

I never yet saw, heard of, or read any question in casuistry, which an honest man of sound logical head could not solve in an instant: not one, that ever had the least difficulty in it theoretically, though doubtless many where it is difficult to determine the ratio of the facts, in order to propound the question or problem.

Ibid. p. 414.

But a vow that is taken in my closet, without any man's imposition or knowledge, may be obligatory; or one that a robber forceth me to by the highway: the nullity of the obligation to take it is all that followeth the nullity of their authority; which will not infer the nullity of the obligation to keep it: for it maketh it but equal to a vow which is made of a private will, without any command of authority at all.

Here Baxter seems to me wrong. Vows by compulsion, not a trifling one, but to avoid death, or perpetual jail, can never, never be in the same class with voluntary, still less with spontaneous vows or

oaths. The sum is this: if tyrants and robbers know, that oaths compelled by them are void in conscience, a few lives may be lost, which might otherwise have been saved; but is this to be put in competition with the weakening of all tyranny, and the preservation of the essence of an oath, as either an act of duty (negatively at least) or not an oath at all? Would these Casuists be mad enough to say, that you were bound to keep an oath forced upon you by a raving madman? But, in truth, oaths altogether are bad, foolish, unchristian things, except as mere remembrancers of the guilt of deliberate falsehood, at the same time *occasioning* the affirmer to be calm and deliberate.

Ibid. pp. 432-3.

It is worthy the mentioning how God's strange judgments about this time were turned by the Devil to his own advantage. Most certainly abundance of real prodigies and marvellous works of God were done, which surely he did not cause in vain. But the over-fervent spirits of some fanatics (Fifth-Monarchy men) caused them presently to take them up boldly with the commentary of their own applications; and too hastily venting matters of common report, before they were tried, they published at several times three volumes of the history of these prodigies, in which were divers lesser matters magnified, and some things which proved false! And though upon strictest examination both I and all men are convinced that very many of the things were true, (as the drying up of the river Derwent, in Derbyshire, upon no known cause, in winter; the earth opening and swallowing a woman, near Ashburn, in the same county, upon her own imprecation; the appearance of an army to many near Montgomery, and abundance more); yet were falsehoods thrust in through their heady temerity and credulity: whereby it came to pass, that these wonders were so far from moving men to repentance, or the fear of God's judgments, that they

greatly hardened them, &c. And what the fanatics had been guilty of was imputed to the ejected ministers and their followers, by them who thought it their interest to do so.

With what caution ought we to take the supernatural relations even of the very best and most veracious men! Baxter says, "I and all men were convinced." How? *Ex. gr.* that of the woman swallowed up, &c. Why not have given all the particulars of place, time, names and characters of the witnesses, &c.? The very same story has been told and retold repeatedly of different persons in different places and times within the last twenty-five years; and yet each so told as to leave no doubt, spite of all the pomp of witnesses, that they were each and all repetitions of the same old story. Besides, this whole hypothesis of preternatural judgment in this life is in direct opposition to a positive declaration of Christ concerning the wall that fell down and the blind man.

Ibid. p. 438.

To these sad and heavy accusations we answered,—1. The Covenant bound us to our best to reform, but did not bind us to sin, that is, to forsake all Christian Churches among us, and all public worship, when we cannot reform as we desire. As I am bound to amend all the disorders and faults of my own prayers, but not to give over praying till I can amend them. Nay, the Covenant bindeth us to come to the assemblies, &c. &c.

It is impossible to read Baxter without hesitating which to admire most, the uncommon clearness (perspicuity and perspicacity) of his understanding, or the candour and charity of his spirit. Under such accursed persecutions he feels and reasons more like an angel than a man.

Ibid. p. 440.

To these I answered,—1. That it's true that mere absence is no separation: but when a party call and invite you to join with them, and you publicly accuse their way, and never join with them at all, you seem to tell the world that you take it to be unlawful; and that hath some degree of separation, &c. &c. And if a tolerable minister be put into your places, it's considerable whether it be not most to your people's edification, unity, charity, and peace, to take them with you to the public assemblies, and help them nevertheless at other times yourselves as much as you can, &c.

But what would come of this? Did God ever please to bring about reformation by these *passive* measures? Never! Did Luther act so? Did the Trinitarians restore the true faith by such measures, when the Arians were uppermost?

Ibid. p. 447.

Or if she be so happy as to escape perversion,* there is little hope of her escaping a sad calamitous life; partly by guilt, and partly by her grief *for a husband's soul*.

Popery *versus* Popery.

Ibid.

Supposing him to be one that loveth her person truly, and not only her estate (for else she must expect to stand by as a contemned thing), yet his religion will not allow him otherwise to love her than as a child of the Devil, in a state of damnation, may be loved. For their religion teacheth them, that none can be saved but the subjects of the Pope.

This seems unanswerable if the husband be a

* This is contained in an answer by Baxter to a case proposed to him:—whether one that was bred a strict Protestant, &c., may without offence to God or man, marry a professed Roman Catholic, in hopes of taking him off the error of his ways, he engaging never to disturb her?—S. C.

thorough Papist. But how *could* such a one marry such a Protestant, except for her estate, or in the full intent as well as hope of using every means to con- or rather per-vert her? Either way, it must be *guilt* in a woman to marry such a man. And yet if she ever hesitated, had "*half a mind to it*," I would wager a trifle that she married him, though the Devil was grinning over the Priest's shoulder during the marriage ceremony.

Part III. p. 6.

Those that take the oath, do (as those that subscribe) resolve that they will understand it in a lawful sense (be it true or false), and so to take it in that sense; to which end they say that *nullum iniquum est in Lege præsumendum*, and that all public impositions must be taken in the best sense that the words will bear.

Oaths are 999 times out of 1000 abominations. Perhaps I need not have made the one exception, as oaths are administered in our law. "Recollect yourself! you are in the presence of the omnipresent, omniscient God, who has declared his wrath against deliberate falsehood. Do you believe this? Are you at this moment fully aware of it?" This would be a form of administering an oath, which the most rigid Quaker, if in his senses, could not object to, and would preclude all the evil superstitions, which now transfer the essence to the ceremony.

Ibid. pp. 8-9.—*Queries upon the Oxford Oath.*

Much as I love the Church of England, I have no hesitation in asserting (as my belief) that nothing in the history of the Inquisition was equally *wicked*, as the conduct of Sheldon and the Court, after the Restoration.

Ibid. p. 12.

Note especially that of the eighth quære, which implyeth divers instances of cases, in which Grotius, Barclay, Bilson, &c., say, that it is lawful to take arms against the King, he seemeth only to grant it, and maketh it but like a cavil, to suppose that those cases ever came into the Parliament's thoughts: and I am much in that of the good man's mind. But if they will swear me to an universal, while they forget particular exceptions, that will not make the oath lawful to me. For, 1st. It is not certain to me, that they would have excepted those things if they had remembered them. 2nd. Much less can I tell which, and how many things they would have excepted. 3rd. And how could the wit of man devise words more exclusive of all exceptions, than to say, 'It is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever?' Are those in the eighth quære 'no pretences whatsoever?'

N.B. But here Baxter confounds the drawers up, or worders, of the oath, with the two Houses of Parliament, who, with the King, were the Imposers. Still, however, I could no more have taken the oath than Baxter: because it was meant to mean something beyond the former oaths, and whatever that might be, was for Diocesan Prelacy and Despotism. Oh it was a disgraceful era, both in Church and State! How grateful ought we to be for our present truly blessed Constitution in the latter, and for the mild and liberal spirit in the former! If not what a Christian Church should be, yet the Church of England injures only itself. It neither oppresses, annoys, nor interferes with those who dissent from it.

Ibid. p. 46.

Experience here convinced me that the Independent separating rigour is not the way to do the people good. After Dr. Featly, Mr. Nye and Mr. Elford, two able Independents, had been the settled ministers at Acton; and when I was

there, there remained but two women in all the town and parish, whom they had admitted to the Sacrament (whereof one was a lady that, by alienation from them, turned Quaker, and was their great patroness, and returned from them while I was there, and heard me with the rest). This rigour made the people think hardly of them; and I found that *the uncharitable conceit, that the parishes are worse than they are, doth tend to make them as bad as they are thought.*

Oh that this no less wise than amiable remark were more and more generally felt and acted upon! This is the sublime moral of Shakspeare's Shylock and Edmund.

Appendix, No. III., p. 55.

For doubtless (though where Heathens were the neighbours of the Church, many were baptised at age, yet) no man can name or prove a society (or I think a person) against Infant Baptism for one thousand two hundred years at least, if not one thousand four hundred: and for many ages no other ordinarily baptized but infants. If Christ had no Church, then where was his wisdom, his love, and his power? What was become of his Catholic Church, that was to continue to the end? * * Doubtless (though it be his ordinance) Christ never laid so great a stress on the outward washing as dividers do. Whenever Baptism is mentioned in Scripture, it means *the engagement of the person to Jesus Christ by solemn covenant, which washing is appointed to solemnise*; and 1 Cor. xii. 13, doth plainly mean, *that* one Holy Spirit, which is usually given to the baptized, either in or near their outward baptism, doth inwardly animate all the body, and unite them, and assimilate them, and prove them members. * * Yet I know the great thing meant by the word 'Baptism' in Scripture is essential to the Church-membership of the adult; that is, the giving up ourselves to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in covenant; but the sign is only necessary as a duty, but not as a means without which the thing cannot be had.

All this proves against any soul-danger in Infant

Baptism, if administered and afterwards acquiesced in, conscientiously. But it surely does not prove that it is not our duty to take the Sacraments as we appear to find them in Scripture. I cannot assent to Baxter's main argument: for an ordinance of admission to Christian membership, pre-requiring on the part of the competitor knowledge, repentance, and faith, is a definition that will not agree with Infant Baptism; and to deny any definition to be true which does not include the lawfulness of Infant Baptism, would be reasoning in a circle with a vengeance. The best argument is: let every man be convinced in his own mind, and agree to differ, keeping up both Love and Communion.

Ibid. p. 57.

As for my twenty arguments, &c., they prove a necessity of profession of consent in all adult covenanters: but yet parents may profess their consent to their children's covenanting or engagement; the parents are the believers and the consenters, and *ergo* must be the professors. They have power of devoting, and giving up, and engaging their children to God. I would Mr. L. could tell me,—*when the privilege and duty of parents entering their children into the Holy Covenant with God, and solemnizing this, did cease?*

But what is all this in opposition to the positive, oft-repeated injunctions of Christ and Scripture, demanding previous faith and repentance in the subject to be baptised. Analogies are good substitutes, but they must not master when the principals are present.

NOTES ON BAXTER'S LIFE OF HIMSELF. *

SECOND SERIES.

1820.

AMONG the grounds for recommending the perusal of our elder writers, Hooker—Taylor—Baxter—in short almost any of the folios composed from Edward VI. to Charles II., I note :—

1. The overcoming the habit of deriving your whole pleasure passively from the book itself, which can only be effected by excitement of curiosity or of some passion. Force yourself to reflect on what you read, paragraph by paragraph, and in a short time you will derive your pleasure, an ample portion of it, at least, from the activity of your own mind. All else is picture sunshine.

2. The conquest of party and sectarian prejudices, when you have on the same table before you the works of a Hammond and a Baxter, and reflect how many and momentous their points of agreement, how few and almost childish the differences, which estranged and irritated these good men. Let us but imagine what their blessed spirits now feel at the retrospect of their earthly frailties, and can we do other than strive to feel as they now feel, not as they once felt? So will it be with the disputes between good men of the present day; and if you have no other reason to doubt your opponent's goodness than the point in dispute, think of Baxter and Hammond, of Milton and Taylor, and let it be no reason at all.

* *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*: or Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times. Folio, 1696.

3. It will secure you from the idolatry of the present times and fashions, and create the noblest kind of imaginative power in your soul, that of living in past ages; wholly devoid of which power, a man can neither anticipate the future, nor even live a truly human life, a life of reason in the present.

4. In this particular work we may derive a most instructive lesson, that in certain points, as of religion in relation to law, the *medio tutissimus ibis* is inapplicable. There is no *medium* possible; and all the attempts, as those of Baxter, though no more be required than "I believe in God through Christ," prove only the mildness of the proposer's temper, but as a rule would be equal to nothing, at least exclude only the two or three in a century that make it a matter of religion to declare themselves Atheists, or else be just as fruitful a rule for a persecutor as the most complete set of articles that could be framed by a Spanish Inquisition. For to 'believe,' must mean to believe aright—and 'God' must mean the true God—and 'Christ' the Christ in the sense and with the attributes understood by Christians who are truly Christians. An established Church with a Liturgy is a sufficient solution of the problem *de jure magistratus*. Articles of faith are in this point of view superfluous; for is it not too absurd for a man to hesitate at subscribing his name to doctrines which yet in the more awful duty of prayer and profession he dares affirm before his Maker! They are therefore in this sense merely superfluous:—not worth re-enacting, had they ever been done away with;—not worth removing now that they exist.

5. The characteristic contradistinction between the speculative reasoners of the age before the Revolution, and those since, is this:—the former cultivated metaphysics, without, or neglecting, empirical psycho-

logy—the latter cultivate a mechanical psychology to the neglect and contempt of metaphysics. Both therefore are almost equi-distant from pure philosophy. Hence the belief in ghosts, witches, sensible replies to prayer, and the like, in Baxter and in a hundred others. See also Luther's Table Talk.

6. The earlier part of this volume is interesting as materials for medical history. The state of medical science in the reign of Charles I. was almost incredibly low.

The saddest error of the theologians of this age is, *ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ*, the disposition to urge the histories of the miraculous actions and incidents, in and by which Christ attested his Messiahship to the Jewish eye-witnesses, in fulfilment of prophecies, which the Jewish Church had previously understood and interpreted as marks of the Messiah, before they have shown what and how excellent the religion itself is including the miracles as for us an harmonious part of the internal or self-evidence of the religion. Alas! and even when our divines do proceed to the religion itself as to a something which no man could be expected to receive except by a compulsion of the senses, which by force of logic only is propagated from the eye-witnesses to the readers of the narratives in 1820—(which logic, namely, that the evidence of a miracle is not diminished by lapse of ages, though this includes loss of documents and the like; which logic, I say, whether it be legitimate or not, God forbid that the truth of Christianity should depend on the decision!)—even when our divines do proceed to the religion itself, on what do they chiefly dwell? On the doctrines peculiar to the religion? No! these on the contrary are either evaded or explained away into metaphors, or resigned in despair to the next world where faith is to be swallowed up in certainty.

But the worst product of this epidemic error is, the fashion of either denying or undervaluing the evidence of a future state and the survival of individual consciousness, derived from the conscience, and the holy instinct of the whole human race. Dreadful is this :—for the main force of the reasoning by which this scepticism is vindicated consists in reducing all legitimate conviction to objective proof: whereas in the very essence of religion and even of morality the evidence, and the preparation for its reception, must be subjective :—*Blessed are they that have not seen and yet believe.* And dreadful it appears to me especially, who in the impossibility of not looking forward to consciousness after the dissolution of the body (*corpus phenomenon*,) have through life found it (next to divine grace,) the strongest and indeed only efficient support against the still recurring temptation of adopting, nay, wishing the truth of Spinoza's notion, that the survival of consciousness is the highest prize and consequence of the highest virtue, and that of all below this mark the lot after death is self-oblivion and the cessation of individual being. Indeed, how a Separatist or one of any other sect of Calvinists, who confines Redemption to the comparatively small number of the elect, can reject this opinion, and yet not run mad at the horrid thought of an innumerable multitude of imperishable self-conscious spirits everlastingly excluded from God, is to me inconceivable.

Deeply am I persuaded of Luther's position, that no man can worthily estimate, or feel in the depth of his being, the Incarnation and Crucifixion of the Son of God who is a stranger to the terror of immortality as ingenerate in man, while it is yet unquelled by the faith in God as the Almighty Father.

Book I., Part I. p. 2.

But though my conscience would trouble me when I sinned, yet divers sins I was addicted to, and oft committed against my conscience ; which for the warning of others I will confess here to my shame.

1. I was much addicted when I feared correction to lie, that I might scape.

2. I was much addicted to the excessive gluttonous eating of apples and pears, &c.

3. To this end, and to concur with naughty boys that gloried in evil, I have oft gone into other men's orchards, and stolen their fruit, when I had enough at home, &c.

There is a childlike simplicity in this account of the sins of his childhood which is very pleasing.

Ibid. pp. 5, 6.

And the use that God made of books, above ministers, to the benefit of my soul, made me somewhat excessively in love with good books ; so that I thought I had never enough, but scraped up as great a treasure of them as I could. * * * It made the world seem to me as a carcase that had neither life nor loveliness ; and it destroyed those ambitious desires after literate fame which were the sin of my childhood. * * * And for the mathematics, I was an utter stranger to them, and never could find in my heart to divert any studies that way. But in order to the knowledge of divinity, my inclination was most to logic and metaphysics, with that part of physics which treateth of the soul, contenting myself at first with a slighter study of the rest : and there had my labour and delight.

What a picture of myself !

Ibid. p. 22.

In the storm of this temptation I questioned awhile whether I were indeed a Christian or an Infidel, and

whether faith could consist with such doubts as I was conscious of.

One of the instances of the evils arising from the equivocal between faith and intellectual satisfaction or insight. The root of faith is in the will. Faith is an oak that may be a pollard, and yet live.

Ibid.

The being and attributes of God were so clear to me, that he was to my intellect what the sun is to my eye, by which I see itself and all things.

Even so with me ;—but, whether God was existentially as well as essentially intelligent, this was for a long time a sore combat between the speculative and the moral man.

Ibid. p. 23.

Mere Deism, which is the most plausible competitor with Christianity, is so turned out of almost all the whole world, as if Nature made its own confession, that without a Mediator it cannot come to God.

Excellent.

Ibid.

All these assistances were at hand before I came to the immediate evidences of credibility in the sacred oracles themselves.

This is as it should be ; that is, the evidence *a priori*, securing the rational probability ; and then the historical proofs of its reality. Pity that Baxter's chapters in *The Saints' Rest* should have been one and the earliest occasion of the inversion of this process, the fruit of which is the Grotio-Paleyan religion, or

minimum of faith ; the maxim being, *quanto minus tanto melius*.

Ibid. p. 24.

And once all the ignorant rout were raging mad against me for preaching the doctrine of Original Sin to them, and telling them that infants, before regeneration, had so much guilt and corruption as made them loathsome in the eyes of God.

No wonder ;—because the babe would perish without the mother's milk, is it therefore loathsome to the mother ? Surely the little ones that Christ embraced had not been baptised. And yet *of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*.

Ibid. p. 25.

Some thought that the King should not at all be displeased and provoked, and that they were not bound to do any other justice, or attempt any other reformation but what they could procure the King to be willing to. And these said, when you have displeased and provoked him to the utmost, he will be your King still. * * * The more you offend him, the less you can trust him ; and when mutual confidence is gone, a war is beginning. * * * And if you conquer him, what the better are you ? He will still be King. You can but force him to an agreement ; and how quickly will he have power and advantage to violate that which he is forced to, and to be avenged on you all for the displeasure you have done him ! He is ignorant of the advantages of a King that cannot foresee this.

This paragraph goes to make out a case in justification of the Regicides which Baxter would have found it difficult to answer. Certainly a more complete exposure of the inconsistency of Baxter's own party cannot be. For observe, that in case of an agreement with Charles all those classes, which afterwards formed

the main strength of the Parliament ~~and~~ ultimately decided the contest in its favour, would have been politically inert, with ~~little~~ influence and no actual power,—I mean the Yeomanry, and the Citizens of London: while a vast majority of the Nobles and the landed Gentry, who sooner or later must have become the majority in Parliament, went over to the King at once. Add to these the whole systematised force of the High Church Clergy and all the rude ignorant vulgar in high and low life, who detested every attempt at moral reform,—and it is obvious that the King could not want opportunities to retract and undo all that he had conceded under compulsion. But that neither the will was wanting, nor his conscience at all in the way, his own advocate Clarendon and others have supplied damning proofs.

Ibid. p. 27.

And though Parliaments may draw up Bills for repealing laws, yet hath the King his negative voice, and without his consent they cannot do it; which though they acknowledge, yet did they too easily admit of petitions against the Episcopacy and Liturgy, and connived at all the clamors and papers which were against them.

How so? If they admitted the King's right to deny, they must admit the subject's right to entreat.

Ibid.

Had they endeavoured the ejection of lay-chancellors, and the reducing of the dioceses to a narrower compass, or the setting up of a subordinate discipline, and only the correcting and reforming of the Liturgy, perhaps it might have been borne more patiently.

Did Baxter find it so himself—and when too he

had the formal and recorded promise of Charles II. for it?

Ibid.

But when the same men (Ussher, Williams, Morton, &c.) saw that greater things were aimed at, and Episcopacy itself in danger, or *their grandeur and riches at least*, most of them turned against the Parliament.

This, and in this place, is unworthy of Baxter. Even he, good man, could not wholly escape the jaundice of party.

Ibid. p. 34.

They said to this;—that as all the courts of justice do execute their sentences in the King's name, and this by his own law, and therefore by his authority, so much more might his Parliament do.

A very sound argument is here disguised in a false analogy, an inapplicable precedent, and a sophistical form. Courts of justice administer the total of the supreme power retrospectively, involved in the name of the most dignified part. But here a part, as a part, acts as the whole, where the whole is absolutely requisite,—that is, in passing laws; and again as B. and C. usurp a power belonging to A. by the determination of A. B. and C. The only valid argument is, that Charles had by acts of his own ceased to be a lawful King.

Ibid. p. 40.

And that the authority and person of the King were inviolable, out of the reach of just accusation, judgment, or execution by law; as having no superior, and so no judge.

But according to Grotius, a king waging war

against the lawful copartners of the *summa potestas* ceases to be their king, and if conquered forfeits to them his former share. And surely if Charles had been victor, he would have taken the Parliament's share to himself. If it had been the Parliament, and not a mere faction with the army, that tried and beheaded Charles, I do not see how anyone could doubt the lawfulness of the act, except upon very technical grounds.

Ibid. p. 41.

For if once legislation, the chief act of government, be denied to any part of government at all, and affirmed to belong to the people as such, who are no governors, all government will hereby be overthrown.

Here Baxter falls short of the subject, and does not see the full consequents of his own prior, most judicious, positions. Legislation in its high and most proper sense belongs to God only. A people declares that such and such they hold to be laws, that is, God's will.

Ibid. p. 47.

In Cornwall Sir Richard Grenvill, having taken many soldiers of the Earl of Essex's army, sentenced about a dozen to be hanged. When they had hanged two or three, the rope broke which should have hanged the next. And they sent for new ropes so oft to hang him, and all of them still broke, that they durst go no further, but saved all the rest.

The soldiers, doubtless, contrived this from the aversion natural to Englishmen of killing an enemy in cold blood; and because they foresaw that there would be Tit for Tat.*

* Doubtless the ropes by some rotting substance had been prepared before by the party.—S. T. C. (An earlier note on the same passage.)

Ibid. p. 59.

It is easy to see from Baxter's own account, that his party ruined their own cause and that of the kingdom by their tenets concerning the right and duty of the civil magistrate to use the sword against such as were not of the same religion with themselves.

Ibid. p. 62.

They seem not to me to have answered satisfactorily to the main argument fetched from the Apostle's own government, with which Saravia had inclined me to some Episcopacy before: though miracles and infallibility were Apostolical temporary privileges, yet Church government is an ordinary thing to be continued. And therefore as the Apostles had successors as they were preachers, I see not but that they must have successors as Church governors.

Was not Peter's sentence against Ananias an act of Church government? Therefore though Church government is an ordinary thing in some form or other, it does not follow that one particular form is an ordinary thing. For the time being the Apostles, as heads of the Church, did what they thought best; but whatever was binding on the Church universal and in all times they delivered as commands from Christ. Now no other command was delivered but that all things should conduce to order and edification.

Ibid. p. 66.

And therefore how they could refuse to receive the King, till he consented to take the Covenant, I know not, unless the taking of the Covenant had been a condition on which he was to receive his crown by the laws or fundamental constitutions of the kingdom, which none pretendeth. Nor know I by what power they can add anything to the

Coronation Oath or Covenant, which by his ancestors was to be taken, without his own consent.

And pray, how and by whom were the Coronation Oaths first imposed? The Scottish nation in 1650 had the same right to make a bargain with the claimant of their throne as their ancestors had. It is strange that Baxter should not have seen that his objections would apply to our *Magna Charta*. So he talks of the "fundamental constitutions," just as if these had been aboriginal or rather *sans* origin, and not, as indeed they were, extorted and bargained for by the people. But throughout it is plain that Baxter repeated, but never appropriated, the distinction between the King as the executive power, and as the individual functionary. What obligation lay on the Scottish Parliament and Church to consult the man Charles Stuart's personal likes and dislikes? The Oath was to be taken by him as their King. Doubtless, he equally disliked the whole Protestant interest; and if the Tories and Church of England Jacobites of a later day had recalled James II., would Baxter have thought them culpable for imposing on him an Oath to preserve the Protestant Church of England and inflict severe penalties on his own Church-fellows?

Ibid. p. 71.

And some men thought it a very hard question, whether they should rather wish the continuance of a usurper that will do good, or the restoration of a rightful governor whose followers will do hurt.

And who shall dare unconditionally condemn those who judged the former to be the better alternative? Especially those who did not adopt Baxter's notion of a *jus divinum* personal and hereditary in the indi-

vidual, whose father had broken the compact on which the claim rested.

Ibid. p. 75.

One Mrs. Dyer, a chief person of the Sect, did first bring forth a monster, which had the parts of almost all sorts of living creatures, some parts like man, but most ugly and misplaced, and some like beasts, birds, and fishes, having horns, fins, and claws ; and at the birth of it the bed shook, and the women present fell a vomiting, and were fain to go forth of the room.

This babe of Mrs. Dyer's is no bad emblem of Richard Baxter's own credulity. It is almost an argument on his side, that nothing he believed is more strange and inexplicable than his own belief of them.

Ibid. p. 76.

The third sect were the Ranters. These also made it their business, as the former, to set up the light of nature under the name of Christ in men, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, &c.

But why does Baxter every where assert the identity of the new light with the light of nature ? Or what does he mean exclusively by the latter ? The source must be the same in all lights as far as it is light.

Ibid. p. 77.

And that was the fourth sect, the Quakers ; who were but the Ranters turned from horrid profaneness and blasphemy to a life of extreme austerity on the other side.

Observe the *but*.

Ibid.

Their doctrine is to be seen in Jacob Behmen's books by him that hath nothing else to do, than to bestow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombasted words do signify nothing more than before was easily known by common familiar terms.

This is not in all its parts true. It is true that the first principles of Behmen are to be found in the writings of the Neo-Platonists after Plotinus, and (but mixed with gross impieties) in Paracelsus ;—but it is not true that they are easily known, and still less so that they are communicable in common familiar terms. But least of all is it true that there is nothing original in Behmen.

Ibid.

The chiefest of these in England are Dr. Pordage and his family.

It is curious that Lessing in the Review, which he, Nicolai, and Mendelssohn conducted under the form of Letters to a wounded Officer, joins the name of Pordage with that of Behmen. Was Pordage's work translated into German ?

Ibid. p. 79.

Also the Socinians made some increase by the ministry of one Mr. Biddle, sometime schoolmaster in Gloucester ; who wrote against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, and afterwards of Christ ; whose followers inclined much to mere Deism.

For the Socinians till Biddle retained much of the Christian religion, for example, Redemption by the Cross, and the omnipresence of Christ as to this

planet even as the Romanists with their Saints. Luther's obstinate adherence to the ubiquity of the Body of Christ and his or rather its real presence in and with the bread was a sad furtherance to the advocates of Popish idolatry and hierolatry.

Ibid. p. 80.

Many a time have I been brought very low, and received the sentence of death in myself, when my poor, honest, praying neighbours have met, and upon their fasting and earnest prayers I have been recovered. Once when I had continued weak three weeks, and was unable to go abroad, the very day that they prayed for me, being Good Friday, I recovered, and was able to preach, and administer the Sacrament the next Lord's Day, and was better after it, &c.

Strange that the common manuals of school logic should not have secured Baxter from the repeated blunder of *Cum hoc, ergo, propter hoc*; but still more strange that his piety should not have revolted against degrading prayer into medical quackery.

Before the Revolution in 1688, metaphysics ruled without experimental psychology, and in these curious paragraphs of Baxter we see the effect: since the Revolution experimental psychology without metaphysics has in like manner prevailed, and we now feel the result. In like manner from Plotinus to Proclus, that is, from A. D. 250 to A. D. 450, philosophy was set up as a substitute for religion: during the dark ages religion superseded philosophy, and the consequences are equally instructive. The great maxim of legislation, intellectual or political, is *Subordinate, not exclude*. Nature in her ascent leaves nothing behind, but at each step subordinates and glorifies:—mass, crystal, organ, sensation, sentience, reflection.

Ibid. p. 82.

Another time, as I sat in my study, the weight of my greatest folio books brake down three or four of the highest shelves, when I sat close under them, and they fell down every side me, and not one of them hit me, save one upon the arm; whereas the place, the weight, the greatness of the books was such, and my head just under them, that it was a wonder they had not beaten out my brains, &c.

Μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν.

Ibid. p. 84.

For all the pains that my infirmities ever brought upon me, were never half so grievous an affliction to me, as the unavoidable loss of my time, which they occasioned. I could not bear, through the weakness of my stomach, to rise before seven o'clock in the morning, &c.

Alas! in how many respects does my lot resemble Baxter's; but how much less have my bodily evils been; and yet how very much greater an impediment have I suffered them to be! But verily Baxter's labours seem miracles of supporting grace. Ought I not therefore to retract the note p. 80? I waver.

Ibid. p. 87.

For my part, I bless God, who gave me even under a Usurper, whom I opposed, such liberty and advantage to preach his Gospel with success, which I cannot have under a King to whom I have sworn and performed true subjection and obedience; yea, which no age since the Gospel came into this land did before possess, as far as I can learn from history. Sure I am, that when it became a matter of reputation and honour to be godly, it abundantly furthered the successes of the ministry. Yea, and I shall add this much more for the sake of posterity, that as much as I have said and written against licentiousness in religion, and for the

magistrate's power in it, and though I think that land most happy, whose rulers use their authority for Christ as well as for the civil peace; yet in comparison of the rest of the world, I shall think that land happy that hath but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing to be; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, and not to oppose the substantials of Christianity, I shall not hereafter much fear such toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down adversaries.

What a valuable and citable paragraph! Likewise it is a happy instance of the force of a cherished prejudice in an honest mind—practically yielding to the truth, but yet with a speculative, “Though I still think, &c.”

Ibid. p. 128.

Among truths certain in themselves, all are not equally certain unto me; and even of the mysteries of the Gospel I must needs say, with Mr. Richard Hooker, that whatever some may pretend, the subjective certainty cannot go beyond the objective evidence. * * * Therefore I do more of late than ever discern the necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the doctrine of Christianity. * * * My certainty that I am a man is before my certainty that there is a God. * * * My certainty that there is a God is greater than my certainty that he requireth love and holiness of his creature, &c.

There is a confusion in this paragraph, which asks more than a marginal note to disentangle. Briefly, the process of acquirement is confounded with the order of the truths when acquired. A tinder spark gives light to an Argand's lamp: is it therefore more luminous?

Ibid. p. 129.

And when I have studied hard to understand some abstruse admired book, as *de Scientia Dei, de Providentia circa malum, de Decretis, de Prædeterminatione, de Libertate creature, &c.* I have but attained the knowledge of human imperfection, and to see that the author is but a man as well as I.

On these points I have come to a resting place. Let such articles, as are either to be recognised as facts, for example, sin or evil having its origination in a will; and the reality of a responsible and (in whatever sense freedom is presupposed in responsibility,) of a free will in man;—or acknowledged as laws, for example, the unconditional bindingness of the practical reason;—or to be freely affirmed as necessary through their moral interest, their indispensableness to our spiritual humanity, for example, the personcity, holiness, and moral government and providence of God;—let these be vindicated from absurdity, from self-contradiction, and contradiction to the pure reason, and restored to simple incomprehensibility. He who seeks for more, knows not what he is talking of; he who will not seek even this is either indifferent to the truth of what he professes to believe, or he mistakes a general determination not to disbelieve for a positive and especial faith, which is only our faith as far as we can assign a reason for it. O! how impossible it is to move an inch to the right or the left in any point of spiritual and moral concernment, without seeing the damage caused by the confusion of reason with the understanding.

Ibid. p. 181.

My soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable world, and more drawn out in desire of their con-

version than heretofore. I was wont to look but little further than England in my prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the world;—or if I prayed for the conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the care of the world, and the method of the Lord's Prayer, so there is nothing in the world that lieth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth.

I dare not not condemn myself for the languid or dormant state of my feelings respecting the Mohammedan and Heathen nations; yet know not in what degree to condemn. The less culpable grounds of this languor are, first, my utter ignorance of God's purposes with respect to the Heathens; and second, the strong conviction I have that the conversion of a single province of Christendom to true practical Christianity would do more toward the conversion of Heathendom than an army of Missionaries. Romanism and despotic government in the larger part of Christendom, and the prevalence of Epicurean principles in the remainder;—these do indeed lie heavy on my heart.

Ibid. p. 135.

Therefore I confess I give but halting credit to most histories that are written, not only against the Albigenses and Waldenses, but against most of the ancient heretics, who have left us none of their own writings, in which they speak for themselves; and I heartily lament that the historical writings of the ancient schismatics and heretics, as they were called, perished, and that partiality suffered them not to survive, that we might have had more light in the Church affairs of those times, and been better able to judge between the Fathers and them.

It is greatly to the credit of Baxter that he has here anticipated those merits which so long after gave

deserved celebrity to the name and writings of Beausobre and Lardner, and still more recently in this respect of Eichhorn, Paulus and other Neologists.

Ibid. p. 136.

And therefore having myself now written this history of myself, notwithstanding my protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the truth, I expect no more credit from the reader than the self-evidencing light of the matter, with concurrent rational advantages from persons, and things, and other witnesses, shall constrain him to.

I may not unfrequently doubt Baxter's memory, or even his competence, in consequence of his particular modes of thinking ; but I could almost as soon doubt the Gospel verity as his veracity.

Book I. Part II. p. 139.

The following Book of this Work is interesting and most instructive as an instance of Syncretism, and its Epicurean *clinamen*, even when it has been undertaken from the purest and most laudable motives, and from impulses the most Christian, and yet its utter failure in its object, that of tending to a common centre. The experience of eighteen centuries seems to prove that there is no practicable *medium* between a Church comprehensive (which is the only meaning of a Catholic Church visible) in which A. in the North or East is allowed to advance officially no doctrine different from what is allowed to B. in the South or West; and a co-existence of independent Churches, in none of which any further unity is required but that between the minister and his congregation, while this again is secured by the election and continuance of the former depending wholly on the will of the latter.

Perhaps the best state possible, though not the best possible state, is where both are found, the one established by maintenance, the other by permission ; in short, that which we now enjoy. In such a state no minister of the former can have a right to complain, for it was at his own option to have taken the latter ; *et volenti nulla fit injuria*. For an individual to demand the freedom of the independent single Church when he receives £500 a year for submitting to the necessary restrictions of the Church General, is impudence and Mammonolatry to boot.

Ibid. p. 141.

They (the Erastians) misunderstood and injured their brethren, supposing and affirming them to claim as from God a coercive power over the bodies or purses of men, and so setting up *imperium in imperio* ; whereas all temperate Christians (at least except Papists) confess that the Church hath no power of force, but only to manage God's word unto men's consciences.

But are not the receivers as bad as the thief ? Is it not a poor evasion to say :—" It is true I send you to a dungeon there to rot, because you do not think as I do concerning some point of faith ;—but this only as a civil officer. As a divine I only tenderly entreat and persuade you !" Can there be fouler hypocrisy in the Spanish Inquisition than this ?

Ibid. p. 142.

That hereby they (the Diocesan party) altered the ancient species of Presbyters, to whose office the spiritual government of their proper folks as truly belonged, as the power of preaching and worshipping God did.

I could never rightly understand this objection of

Richard Baxter's. What power not possessed by the Rector of a parish, would he have wished a parochial Bishop to have exerted? What could have been given by the Legislature to the latter which might not be given to the former? In short, Baxter's plan seems to do away Archbishops—*κοινοὶ ἐπίσκοποι*—but for the rest to name our present Rectors and Vicars Bishops. I cannot see what is gained by his plan. The true difficulty is that Church discipline is attached to an Establishment by this world's law, not to the form itself established: and his objections from paragraph 5 to paragraph 10 relate to particular abuses, not to Episcopacy itself.

Ibid. p. 143.

But above all I disliked that most of them (the Independents) made the people by majority of votes to be Church governors in excommunications, absolutions, &c., which Christ hath made an act of office; and so they governed their governors and themselves.

Is not this the case with the Houses of Legislature? The members taken individually are subjects; collectively governors.

Ibid. p. 177.

The extraordinary gifts of the Apostles, and the privilege of being eye and ear witnesses to Christ, were abilities which they had for the infallible discharge of their function, but they were not the ground of their power and authority to govern the Church. * * * *Potestas clavium* was committed to them only, not to the Seventy.

I wish for a proof, that all the Apostles had any extraordinary gifts which none of the LXX. had. Nay, as an Episcopalian of the Church of England, I

hold it an unsafe and imprudent concession, tending to weaken the governing right of the Bishops. But I fear that as the law and right of patronage in England now are, the question had better not be stirred; lest it should be found that the true power of the keys is not, as with the Papists, in hands to which it is doubtful whether Christ committed them exclusively; but in hands to which it is certain that Christ did not commit them at all.

Ibid. p. 179.

It followeth not a mere Bishop may have a multitude of Churches, because an Archbishop may, who hath many Bishops under him.

What then does Baxter quarrel about? That our Bishops take a humbler title than they have a right to claim;—that being in fact Archbishops, they are for the most part content to be styled as one of the brethren!

Ibid. p. 185.

I say again, No Church, no Christ; for no body, no head; and if no Christ then, there is no Christ now.

Baxter here forgets his own mystical regenerated Church. If he mean this, it is nothing to the argument in question; if not, then he must assert the monstrous absurdity of, No unregenerate Church, no Christ.

Ibid. p. 188.

Or if they would not yield to this at all, we might have communion with them as Christians, without acknowledging them for Pastors.

Observe the inconsistency of Baxter. No Pastor,

no Church; no Church, no Christ; and yet he will receive them as Christians: much to his honour as a Christian, but not much to his credit as a logician.

Ibid. p. 189.

We are agreed that as some discovery of consent on both parts (the pastors and people) is necessary to the being of the members of a political particular Church: so that the most express declaration of that consent is the most plain and satisfactory dealing, and most obliging, and likeliest to attain the ends.

In our Churches, especially in good livings, there is such an overflowing fullness of consent on the part of the Pastor as supplies that of the people altogether; nay, to nullify their declared dissent.

Ibid. p. 194.

By the establishment of what is contained in these twelve propositions or articles following, the Churches in these nations may have a holy communion, peace and concord, without any wrong to the consciences or liberties of Presbyterians, Congregational, Episcopal, or any other Christians.

Painfully instructive are these proposals from so wise and peaceable a divine as Baxter. How mighty must be the force of an old prejudice, when so generally acute a logician was blinded by it to such palpable inconsistencies! On what ground of right could a magistrate inflict a penalty, whereby to compel a man to hear what he might believe dangerous to his soul, on which the right of burning the refractory individual might not be defended as well?

Ibid. p. 198.

To which ends * * I think that this is all that should be required of any Church or member ordinarily to be

professed : in general I do believe all that is contained in the sacred canonical Scriptures, and particularly I believe all explicitly contained in the ancient Creed, &c.

To a man of sense, but unstudied in the context of human nature, and from having confined his reading to the writers of the present and last generation unused to live in former ages, it must seem strange that Baxter should not have seen that this test is either all or nothing. And the Creed ! Is it certain that the so called Apostles' Creed was more than the mere catechism of the Catechumens ? Was it the Baptismal Creed of the Eastern or Western Church, especially the former ? The only test really necessary, in my opinion, is an established Liturgy.

Ibid. p. 201.

As reverend Bishop Ussher hath manifested that the Western Creed, now called the Apostles' (wanting two or three clauses that now are in it) was not only before the Nicene Creed, but of much further antiquity, that no beginning of it below the Apostles' days can be found.

Remove these two or three clauses, and doubtless the substance of the remainder must have been little short of the Apostolic age. But so is one at least of the writings of Clement. The great question is : Was this the Baptismal Symbol, the *Regula Fidei*, which it was forbidden to put in writing ;—or was it not the Christian A. B. C. of the *Catechumeni* previously to their Baptismal initiation into the higher mysteries, to *the strong meat* which was not for *babes* ? *

* See Hooker, E. P. V. xviii. 3. vol. ii. p. 80. Keble.—Ed.

Ibid. p. 203.

Not so much for my own sake as others; lest it should offend the Parliament, and open the mouths of our adversaries, that we cannot ourselves agree in fundamentals; and lest it prove an occasion for others to sue for a universal toleration.

That this apprehension so constantly haunted, so powerfully actuated, even the mild and really tolerant Baxter, is a strong proof of my old opinion,—that the dogma of the right and duty of the civil magistrate to restrain and punish religious avowals by him deemed heretical, universal among the Presbyterians and Parliamentary Churchmen, joined with the persecuting spirit of the Presbyterians,—was the main cause of Cromwell's despair and consequent unfaithfulness concerning a Parliamentary Commonwealth.

Ibid. p. 222.

I tried, when I was last with you, to revive your reason by proposing to you the infallibility of the common senses of all the world; and I could not prevail though you had nothing to answer that was not against common sense. And it is impossible any thing controverted can be brought nearer you, or made plainer than to be brought to your eyes and taste and feeling; and not yours only, but all men's else. Sense goes before faith. Faith is no faith but upon supposition of sense and understanding: if therefore common sense be fallible, faith must needs be so.

This is one of those two-edged arguments, which not indeed began, but began to be fashionable, just before and after the Restoration. I was half converted to Transubstantiation by Tillotson's common senses against it; seeing clearly that the same grounds *totidem verbis et syllabis* would serve the Socinian against all the mysteries of Christianity. If the Roman Catholics had pretended that the phe-

nominal bread and wine were changed into the phenomenal flesh and blood, this objection would have been legitimate and irresistible ; but as it is, it is mere sensual babble. The whole of Popery lies in the assumption of a Church, as a numerical unit, infallible in the highest degree, inasmuch as both which is Scripture, and what Scripture teaches, is infallible by derivation only from an infallible decision of the Church. Fairly undermine or blow up this : and all the remaining peculiar tenets of Romanism fall with it, or stand by their own right as opinions of individual Doctors.

An antagonist of a complex bad system,—a system, however, notwithstanding—and such is Popery,—should take heed above all things not to disperse himself. Let him keep to the sticking place. But the majority of our Protestant polemics seem to have taken for granted that they could not attack Romanism in too many places, or on too many points ;—forgetting that in some they will be less strong than in others, and that if in any one or two they are repelled from the assault, the feeling of this will extend itself over the whole. Besides, what is the use of alleging thirteen reasons for a witness's not appearing in Court, when the first is that the man had died since his *subpœna* ? It is as if a party employed to root up a tree were to set one or two at that work, while others were hacking the branches, and others sawing the trunk at different heights from the ground.

N. B. The point of attack suggested above in disputes with the Romanists is of special expediency in the present day : because a number of pious and reasonable Roman Catholics are not aware of the dependency of their other tenets on this of the infallibility of their Church decisions, as they call them, but are themselves shaken and disposed to explain it

away. This once fixed, the Scriptures rise uppermost, and the man is already a Protestant, rather a genuine Catholic, though his opinions should remain nearer to the Roman than the Reformed Church.

Ibid.

But methinks yet I should have hope of reviving your charity. You cannot be a Papist indeed, but you must believe that out of their Church (that is, out of the Pope's dominions) there is no salvation; and consequently no justification and charity, or saving grace. And is it possible you can so easily believe your religious father to be in hell; your prudent, pious mother to be void of the love of God, and in a state of damnation, &c.

This argument *ad affectum* is beautifully and forcibly stated; but yet defective by the omission of the point;—not for unbelief or misbelief of any article of faith, but simply for not being a member of this particular part of the Church of Christ. For it is possible that a Christian might agree in all the articles of faith with the Roman doctors against those of the Reformation, and yet if he did not acknowledge the Pope as Christ's vicar, and held salvation possible in any other Church, he is himself excluded from salvation! Without this great distinction Lady Ann Lindsey might have replied to Baxter:—"So might a Pagan orator have said to a convert from Paganism in the first ages of Christianity; so indeed the advocates of the old religion did argue. What! can you bear to believe that Numa, Camillus, Fabricius, the Scipios, the Catos, that Cicero, Seneca, that Titus and the Antonini, are in the flames of Hell, the accursed objects of the divine hatred? Now whatever you dare hope of these as heathens, we dare hope of you as heretics."

Ibid. p. 224.

But this is not the worst. You consequently anathematise all Papists by your sentence: for heresies by your own sentence cut off men from heaven: but Popery is a bundle of heresies: therefore it cuts off men from heaven. The *minor* I prove, &c.

This introduction of syllogistic form in a letter to a young Lady is whimsically characteristic.

Ibid. p. 225.

You say, the Scripture admits of no private interpretation. But you abuse yourself and the text with a false interpretation of it in these words. An interpretation is called private either as to the subject person, or as to the interpreter. You take the text to speak of the latter, when the context plainly sheweth you that it speaks of the former. The Apostle directing them to understand the prophecies of the Old Testament, gives them this caution;—that none of these Scriptures that are spoken of Christ the public person must be interpreted as spoken of David or other private person only, of whom they were mentioned but as types of Christ, &c.

It is strange that this sound and irrefragable argument has not been enforced by the Church divines in their controversies with the modern Unitarians, as Capp, Belsham, and others, who refer all the prophetic texts of the Old Testament to historical personages of their time, exclusively of all double sense.

Ibid. p. 226.

As to what you say of Apostles still placed in the Church:—when any show us an immediate mission by their communion, and by miracles, *tongues*, and a spirit of revelation

and infallibility prove themselves Apostles, we shall believe them.

This is another of those two-edged arguments which Baxter and Jeremy Taylor imported from Grotius, and which have since become the universal fashion among Protestants. I fear, however, that it will do us more hurt by exposing a weak part to the learned Infidels than service in our combat with the Romanists. I venture to assert most unequivocally that the New Testament contains not the least proof of the *linguipotence* of the Apostles, but the clearest proofs of the contrary: and I doubt whether we have even as decisive a victory over the Romanists in our Middletonian, Farmerian, and Douglassian dispute concerning the miracles of the first two centuries and their assumed contrast *in genere* with those of the Apostles and the Apostolic age, as we have in most other of our Protestant controversies.

N. B. These opinions of Middleton and his more cautious followers are no part of our real Church doctrine. This passion for law Court evidence began with Grotius.

Ibid. p. 246.

We conceived there needs no more to be said for justifying the imposition of the ceremonies by law established than what is contained in the beginning of this Section. * * * Inasmuch as lawful authority hath already determined the ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and to serve to edification: and consequently to be agreeable to the general rules of the Word.

To a self-convinced and disinterested lover of the Church of England, it gives an indescribable horror to observe the frequency with which the Prelatic party after the Restoration appeal to the laws as of

equal authority with the express words of Scripture ;—as if the laws, by them appealed to, were other than the vindictive determinations of their own furious partisans ;—as if the same appeals might not have been made by Bonner and Gardiner under Philip and Mary ! Why should I speak of the inhuman sophism that, because it is silly in my neighbour to break his egg at the broad end when the Squire and the Vicar have declared their predilection for the narrow end, therefore it is right for the Squire and the Vicar to hang and quarter him for his silliness :—for it comes to that.

Ibid. p. 248.

To you it is indifferent before your imposition : and therefore you may without any regret of your own consciences forbear the imposition, or persuade the law makers to forbear it. But to many of those that dissent from you, they are sinful, &c.

But what is all this, good worthy Baxter, but saying and unsaying ? If they are not indifferent, why did you previously concede them to be such ? In short nothing can be more pitiable weak than the conduct of the Presbyterian party from the first capture of Charles I. Common sense required, either a bold denial that the Church had power in ceremonies more than in doctrines, or that the Parliament was the Church, since it is the Parliament that enacts all these things ;—or if they admitted the authority lawful and the ceremonies only, in their mind, inexpedient, good God ! can self-will more plainly put on the cracked mask of tender conscience than by refusal of obedience ? What intolerable presumption, to disqualify as ungodly and reduce to null the majority of the country, who preferred the Liturgy, in order to force the long winded vanities of

bustling God-orators on those who would fain hear prayers, not spouting !

Ibid. p. 249.

The great controversies between the hypocrite and the true Christian, whether we should be serious in the practice of the religion which we commonly profess, hath troubled England more than any other ;—none being more hated and divided as Puritans than those that will make religion their business, &c.

Had not the Governors had bitter proofs that there are other and more cruel vices than swearing and careless living ;—and that these were predominant chiefly among such as made their religion their business?

Ibid.

And whereas you speak of opening a gap to Sectaries for private conventicles, and the evil consequents to the state, we only desire you to avoid also the cherishing of ignorance and profaneness, and *suppress all Sectaries*, and spare not, in a way that will not suppress the means of knowledge and godliness.

The present company, that is, our own dear selves, always excepted.

Ibid. p. 250.

Otherwise the poor undone Churches of Christ will no more believe you in such professions than we believed that those men intended the King's just power and greatness, who took away his life.

Or who, like Baxter, joined the armies that were showering cannon balls and bullets around his inviolable person ! Whenever by reading the Prelatical writings and histories, I have had an over dose of anti-Prelatism in my feelings, I then correct

it by dipping into the works of the Presbyterians, and their fellows, and so bring myself to more charitable thoughts respecting the Prelatists, and fully subscribe to Milton's assertion, that "Presbyter was but Old Priest writ large."

Ibid. p. 254.

The apocryphal matter of your lessons in Tobit, Judith, Bel and the Dragon, &c., is scarce agreeable to the Word of God.

Does not Jude refer to an apocryphal book?

Ibid.

Our experience irresistibly convinceth us that a continued prayer doth more to help most of the people, and carry on their desires, than turning almost every petition into a distinct prayer; and making prefaces and conclusions to be near half the prayers.

This now is the very point I most admire in our excellent Liturgy. To any particular petition offered to the Omniscient, there may be a sinking of faith, a sense of its superfluity; but to the lifting up of the soul to the Invisible and there fixing it on his attributes, there can be no scruple,

Ibid. p. 257.

The not abating of the impositions is the carting off of many hundreds of your brethren out of the ministry, and of many thousand Christians out of your communion; but the abating of the impositions will so offend you as to silence or excommunicate none of you at all. For example, we think it a sin to subscribe, or swear canonical obedience, or use the transient image of the Cross in Baptism, and therefore these must cast us out, &c.

As long as independent single Churches, or volun-

tarily synodical were forbidden and punishable by penal law, this argument remained irrefragable. The imposition of such trifles under such fearful threats was the very bitterness of spiritual pride and vindictiveness;—after the law passed by which things became as they now are, it was a mere question of expediency for the National Church to determine in relation to its own comparative interests. If the Church chose unluckily, the injury has been to itself alone.

It seems strange that such men as Baxter should not see that the use of the ring, the surplice, and the like, are indifferent according to his own confession, yea, mere trifles in comparison with the peace of the Church: but that it is no trifle, that men should refuse obedience to lawful authority in matters indifferent, and prefer the sin of schism to offending their taste and fancy. The Church did not, upon the whole, contend for a trifle, nor for an indifferent matter, but for a principle on which all order in society must depend. Still this is true only, provided the Church enacts no ordinances that are not necessary or at least plainly conducive to order or (generally) to the ends for which it is a Church. Besides, the point which the King had required them to consider was not what ordinances it was right to obey, but what it was expedient to enact or not to enact.

Ibid. p. 269.

That the Pastors of the respective parishes may be allowed not only publicly to preach, but personally to catechize or otherwise instruct the several families, admitting none to the Lord's Table that have not personally owned their Baptismal covenant by a credible profession of faith and obedience; and to admonish and exhort the scandalous, in

order to their repentance: to hear the witnesses and the accused party, and to appoint fit times and places for these things, and to deny such persons the communion of the Church in the holy Eucharist, that remain impenitent, or that wilfully refuse to come to their Pastors to be instructed, or to answer such probable accusations; and to continue such exclusion of them till they have made a credible profession of repentance, and then to receive them again to the communion of the Church;—provided there be place for due appeals to superior power.

Suppose only such men Pastors as are now most improperly, whether as boast or as sueer, called Evangelical, what an insufferable tyranny would this introduce! Who would not rather live in Algiers? This alone would make this minute history of the ecclesiastic factions invaluable, that it must convince all sober lovers of independence and moral self-government, how dearly we ought to prize our present Church Establishment with all its faults.

Ibid. p. 272.

Therefore we humbly crave that your Majesty will here declare, that it is your Majesty's pleasure that none be punished or troubled for not using the Book of Common Prayer, till it be effectually reformed by divines of both persuasions equally deputed thereunto.

The dispensing power of the Crown not only acknowledged, but earnestly invoked! Cruel as the conduct of Laud and that of Sheldon to the Dissenters was, yet God's justice stands clear towards them; for they demanded that from others, which they themselves would not grant. They were to be allowed at their own fancies to denounce the ring in marriage, and yet impowered to endungeon, through the magistrate, the honest and peaceable Quaker for rejecting the outward ceremony of water in Baptism,

as reducing men to take it as a substitute for the spiritual reality ;—though the Quakers, no less than themselves, appealed to Scripture authority—the Baptist's own contrast of Christ's with the water baptism.

Ibid. p. 273.

We are sure that kneeling in any adoration at all, in any worship, on any Lord's Day in the year, or any week day between Easter and Pentecost, was not only disused, but forbidden by General Councils, &c.—and therefore that kneeling in the act of receiving is a novelty contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Church for many hundred years after the Apostles.

Was not this because kneeling was the agreed sign of sorrow and personal contrition, which was not to be introduced into the public worship on the great day and the solemn seasons of the Church's joy and thanksgiving? If so, Baxter's appeal to this usage is a gross sophism, a mere pun,

Ibid. p. 308.

Baxter's Reception to the Common Prayer Book.

1. Order requireth that we begin with reverent prayer to God for his acceptance and assistance, which is not done.

Enunciation of God's invitations, and promises in God's own words, as in the Common Prayer Book, much better.

2. That the Creed and Decalogue containing the faith, in which we profess to assemble for God's worship, and the law which we have broken by our sins, should go before the Confession and Absolution ; or at least before the praises of the Church ; which they do not.

Might have deserved consideration, if the people

or the larger number consisted of uninstructed *catechumens*, or mere candidates for Church-membership. But the object being, not the first teaching of the Creed and Decalogue, but the lively reimpresing of the same, it is much better as it is.

3. The Confession omitteth not only original sin, but all actual sin as specified by the particular commandments violated, and almost all the aggravations of those sins. * * * Whereas confession, being the expression of repentance, should be more particular, as repentance itself should be.

Grounded on one of the grand errors of the whole Dissenting party, namely, the confusion of public common prayer, praise, and instruction, with domestic and even with private devotion. Our Confession is a perfect model for Christian communities.

4. When we have craved help for God's prayers, before we come to them, we abruptly put in the petition for speedy deliverance—(*O God, make speed to save us: O Lord, make haste to help us,*) without any intimation of the danger that we desire deliverance from, and without any other petition conjoined.

5. It is disorderly in the manner, to sing the Scripture in a plain tune after the manner of reading.

6. (*The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit,*) being petitions for divine assistance, come in abruptly in the midst or near the end of morning prayer: And (*Let us pray,*) is adjoined when we were before in prayer.

Mouse-like squeak and nibble.

7. (*Lord have mercy upon us: Christ have mercy upon us: Lord have mercy upon us,*) seemeth an affected tautology without any special cause or order here; and the Lord's Prayer is annexed that was before recited, and yet the next

words are again but a repetition of the *aforesaid* oft repeated general (*O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us*).

Still worse. The spirit in which this and similar complaints originated has turned the prayers of Dissenting ministers into irreverent preachments, forgetting that tautology in words and thoughts implies no tautology in the music of the heart to which the words are, as it were, set, and that it is the heart that lifts itself up to God. Our words and thoughts are but parts of the enginery which remains with ourselves; and logic, the rustling dry leaves of the lifeless reflex faculty, does not merit even the name of a pulley or lever of devotion.

8. The prayer for the King (*O Lord, save the King*.) is without any order put between the *foresaid* petition and another general request only for audience (*And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee*).

A trifle, but just.

9. The second Collect is intituled (*For Peace*), and hath not a word in it of petition for peace, but only *for defence in assaults of enemies*, and that *we may not fear their power*. And the prefaces (*in knowledge of whom standeth, &c.* and *whose service, &c.*) have no more evident respect to a petition for peace than to any other. And the prayer itself comes in disorderly, while many prayers or petitions are omitted, which according both to the method of the Lord's Prayer, and the nature of the things, should go before.

10. The third Collect intituled (*For Grace*.) is disorderly, &c. * * * And thus the main parts of prayer, according to the rule of the Lord's Prayer and our common necessities, are omitted.

Not wholly unfounded: but the objection proceeds on an arbitrary and (I think) false assumption, that

the Lord's prayer was universally prescriptive in form and arrangement.

12. The Litany * * omitteth very many particulars, * * and it is exceedingly disorderly, following no just rules of method. Having begged pardon of our sins, and deprecated vengeance it proceedeth to evil in general, and some few sins in particular, and thence to a more particular enumeration of judgments; and thence to a recitation of the parts of that work of our redemption, and thence to the deprecation of judgments again, and thence to prayers for the King and magistrates, and then for all nations, and then for love and obedience, &c.

The very points here objected to as faults I should have selected as excellencies. For do not the duties and temptations occur in real life even so intermingled? The imperfection of thought, much more of language, so singly successive, allows no better representation of the close neighbourhood, nay the co-inherence of duty in duty, desire in desire. Every want of the heart pointing Godward is a chiliagon that touches at a thousand points. From these remarks I except the last paragraph of s. 12,

(As to the prayer for Bishops and Curates and the position of the General Thanksgiving, &c.)

which are defects so palpable and so easily removed, that nothing but antipathy to the objectors could have retained them.

13. The like defectiveness and disorder is in the Communion Collects for the day. * * * There is no more reason why it should be appropriate to that day than another, or rather be a common petition for all days, &c.

I do not see how these supposed improprieties, for want of appropriateness to the day, could be avoided

without risk of the far greater evil of too great appropriation to particular Saints and days, as in Popery. I am so far a Puritan that I think nothing would have been lost, if Christmas day and Good Friday had been the only week days made holy days, and Easter the only Lord's day especially distinguished. I should also have added Whitsunday; but that it has become unmeaning since our Clergy have, as I grieve to think, become generally Arminian, and interpreting the descent of the Spirit as the gift of miracles and of miraculous infallibility by inspiration have rendered it of course of little or no application to Christians at present. Yet how can Arminians pray our Church prayers collectively on any day? Answer. See a *boa constrictor* with an ox or deer. What they do swallow, proves so astounding a dilatability of gullet, that it would be unconscionable strictness to complain of the horns, antlers, or other indigestible non-essentials being suffered to rot off at the confines, *ἔρκος ὀδόντων*. But to write seriously on so serious a subject, it is mournful to reflect that the influence of the systematic theology then in fashion with the anti-Prelatic divines, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians, had quenched all fineness of mind, all flow of heart, all grandeur of imagination in them; while the victorious party, the Prelatic Arminians, enriched as they were with all learning and highly gifted with taste and judgment, had emptied revelation of all the doctrines that can properly be said to have been revealed, and thus equally caused the extinction of the imagination, and quenched the life in the light by withholding the appropriate fuel and the supporters of the sacred flame. So that, between both parties, our transcendent Liturgy remains like an ancient Greek temple, a monumental proof of the architectural genius of an

age long departed, when there were giants in the land.

Ibid. p. 337.

As I was proceeding, Bishop Morley interrupted me according to his manner, with vehemency crying out * * The Bishop interrupted me again * * I attempted to speak, and still he interrupted me * * Bishop Morley went on, talking louder than I, &c.

The Bishops appear to have behaved insolently enough. Safe in their knowledge of Charles's inclinations, they laughed in their sleeves at his commission. Their best answer would have been to have pressed the anti-impositionists with their utter forgetfulness of the possible, nay, very probable differences of opinion between the ministers and their congregations. A vain minister might disgust a sober congregation with his *extempore* prayers, or his open contempt of their kneeling at the Sacrament, and the like. Yet by what right if he acts only as an individual? And then what an endless source of disputes and preferences of this minister or of that!

Ibid. p. 341.

The paper offered by Bishop Cosins.

1. That the question may be put to the managers of the division, Whether there be anything in the doctrine, or discipline, or the Common Prayer, or ceremonies, contrary to the word of God; and if they can make any such appear, let them be satisfied.

2. If not, let them propose what they desire in point of expediency, and acknowledge it to be no more.

This was proposed, doubtless, by one of your sensible men; it is so plain, so plausible, shallow, *nihili, nauci, pili, flocci-cal*. Why, the very phrase

"contrary to the word of God" would take a month to define, and neither party agree at last. One party says:—The Church has power from God's word to order all matters of order so as shall appear to them to conduce to decency and edification: but ceremonies respect the orderly performance of divine service: *ergo*, the Church has power to ordain ceremonies; but the Cross in baptising is a ceremony; *ergo*, the Church has power to prescribe the crossing in Baptism. What is rightfully ordered cannot be rightfully withstood:—but the crossing, &c., is rightfully ordered:—*ergo*, the crossing cannot be rightfully omitted. To this, how easily would the other party reply;—1. That a small number of Bishops could not be called the Church:—2. That no one Church had power or pretence from God's word to prescribe concerning mere matters of outward decency and convenience to other Churches or assemblies of Christian people:—3. That the blending an unnecessary and suspicious, if not superstitious, motion of the hand with a necessary and essential act doth in no wise respect order or propriety:—Lastly, that to forbid a man to obey a direct command of God because he will not join with it an admitted mere tradition of men, is contrary to common sense, no less than to God's word, expressly and by breach of charity, which is the great end and purpose of God's word. Besides; might not the Pope and his shavelings have made the same proposition to the Reformers in the reign of Edward VI., in respect to the greater part of the idle superfluities which were rejected by the Reformers, only as idle and superfluous, and for that reason contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, though few, if any, were in the direct teeth of a positive prohibition? Above all, an honest policy dictates that the end in view being fully determined,

as here for instance, the preclusion of disturbance and indecorum in Christian assemblies, every addition to means, already adequate to the securing of that end, tends to frustrate the end, and is therefore evidently excluded from the prerogatives of the Church (however that word may be interpreted), inasmuch as its power is confined to such ceremonies and regulations as conduce to order and general edification. In short it grieves me to think that the Heads of the most Apostolical Church in Christendom should have insisted on three or four trifles, the abolition of which could have given offence to none but such as from the baleful superstition that alone could attach importance to them effectually, it was charity to offend;—when all the rest of Baxter's objections might have been answered so triumphantly.

Ibid. p. 343.

Answer to the foresaid paper.

8. That none may be a preacher, that dare not subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the 39 Articles, that is contrary to the word of God.

I think this might have been left out as well as the other two articles mentioned by Baxter. For as by the words "contrary to the word of God" in Cosins's paper, it was not meant to declare the Common Prayer Book free from all error, the sense must have been, that there is not anything in it in such a way or degree contrary to God's word, as to oblige us to assign sin to those who have overlooked it, or who think the same compatible with God's word, or who, though individually disapproving the particular thing, yet regard that acquiescence as an allowed sacrifice of individual opinion to modesty,

charity, and zeal for the peace of the Church. For observe that this eighth instance is additional to, and therefore not inclusive of, the preceding seven : otherwise it must have been placed as the first, or rather as the whole ; the seven following being motives and instances in support and explanation of the point.

Ibid. p. 368.

Let me mediate here between Baxter and the Bishops : Baxter had taken for granted that the King had a right to promise a revision of the Liturgy, Canons, and regiment of the Church, and that the Bishops ought to have met him and his friends as diplomatists on even ground. The Bishops could not with discretion openly avow all they meant ; and it would be bigotry to deny that the spirit of compromise had no indwelling in their feelings or intents. But nevertheless it is true that they thought more in the spirit of the English Constitution than Baxter and his friends.—“ This,” thought they, “ is the law of the land, *quam nolumus mutari* ; and it must be the King with and by the advice of his Parliament, that can authorise any part of his subjects to take the question of its repeal into consideration. Under other circumstances a King might bring the Bishops and the Heads of the Romish party together to plot against the law of the land. No ! we would have no other secret Committees but of Parliamentary appointment. We are but so many individuals. It is in the Legislature that the congregations, the party most interested in this cause, meet collectively by their representatives.” Lastly, let it not be overlooked, that the root of the bitterness was common to both parties,—namely, the conviction of the vital importance of uniformity ;—and this admitted, surely

an undoubted majority in favour of what is already law must decide whose uniformity it is to be.

Ibid.

We must needs believe that when your Majesty took our consent to a Liturgy to be a foundation that would infer our concord, you meant not that we should have no concord but by consenting to this Liturgy without any considerable alteration.

This is forcible reasoning, but which the Bishops could fairly leave for the King to answer;—the contract tacit or expressed, being between him and the anti-Prelatic Presbytero-Episcopalian party, to which neither the Bishops nor the Legislature had acceded or assented. If Baxter and Calamy were so little imbued with the spirit of the Constitution as to consider Charles II. as the breath of their nostrils, and this dread sovereign Breath in its passage gave a snort or a snuffle, or having led them to expect a snuffle surprised them with a snort, let the reproach be shared between the Breath's fetid conscience and the nostrils' nasoductility. The traitors to the liberty of their country who were swarming and intriguing for favour at Breda when they should have been at their post in Parliament or in the Lobby preparing terms and conditions!—Had all the ministers that were afterwards ejected and the Presbyterian party generally exerted themselves, heart and soul, with Monk's soldiers, and in collecting those whom Monk had displaced, and, instead of carrying on treasons against the Government *de facto* by mendicant negotiations with Charles, had taken open measures to confer the sceptre on him as the Scotch did,—whose stern and truly loyal conduct has been most unjustly condemned,—the schism in

the Church might have been prevented and the Revolution of 1688 superseded.

N. B. In the above I speak of the Bishops as men interested in a litigated estate. God forbid I should seek to justify them as Christians.

Ibid. p. 369.

Quære. Whether in the 20th Article these words are not inserted;—*Habet Ecclesia auctoritatem in controversiis fidei.*

Strange, that the evident antithesis between power in respect of ceremonies, and authority in points of faith, should have been overlooked !

Ibid.

Some have published, That there is a proper sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, to exhibit Christ's death in the *post-fact* as there was a sacrifice to prefigure it in the Old Law in the *ante-fact*, and therefore that we have a true altar, and not only metaphorically so called.

Doubtless a gross error, yet pardonable, for to errors nearly as gross it was opposed.

Ibid.

Some have maintained that the Lord's Day is kept merely by ecclesiastical constitution, and that the day is changeable.

Where shall we find the proof of the contrary?—at least, if the position had been worded thus : The moral and spiritual obligation of keeping the Lord's Day is grounded on its manifest necessity, and the evidence of its benignant effects in connection with those conditions of the world of which even in Christianised countries there is no reason to expect a change, and is therefore commanded by implication

in the New Testament, so clearly and by so immediate a consequence, as to be no less binding on the conscience than an explicit command. A., having lawful authority, expressly commands me to go to London from Bristol. There is at present but one safe road : this therefore is commanded by A. ; and would be so, even though A. had spoken of another road which at that time was open.

Ibid. p. 370.

Some have broached out of Socinus a most uncomfortable and desperate doctrine, that late repentance, that is, upon the last bed of sickness, is unfruitful, at least to reconcile the penitent to God.

This no doubt refers to Jeremy Taylor's work on Repentance, and is but too faithful a description of its character.

Ibid. p. 373.

A little after the King was beheaded, Mr. Atkins met this priest in London, and going into a tavern with him, said to him in his familiar way, 'What business have you here? I warrant you come about some roguery or other.' Whereupon the priest told it him as a great secret, that there were thirty of them here in London, who, by instructions from Cardinal Mazarine, did take care of such affairs, and had sat in council, and debated the question, whether the King should be put to death or not ;—and that it was carried in the affirmative, and there were but two voices for the negative, which was his own and another's; and that for his part, he could not concur with them, as foreseeing what misery this would bring upon his country. Mr. Atkins stood to the truth of this, but thought it a violation of the laws of friendship to name the man.

Richard Baxter was too thoroughly good for any experience to make him worldly wise ; else, how

could he have been simple enough to suppose, that Mazarine would leave such a question to be voted *pro* and *con*, and decided by thirty emissaries in London! And, how could he have reconciled Mazarine's having any share in Charles's death with his own masterly account, pp. 98, 99, 100? Even Cromwell, though he might have prevented, could not have effected the sentence. The regicidal judges were not his creatures. Consult the Life of Colonel Hutchinson upon this.

Ibid. p. 374.

Since this, Dr. Peter Moulin hath, in his Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, declared that he is ready to prove, when authority will call him to it, that the King's death, and the change of the government, was first proposed both to the Sorbonne, and to the Pope with his Conclave, and consented to and concluded for by both.

The Pope in his Conclave had about the same influence in Charles's fate as the Pope's eye in a leg of mutton. The letter intercepted by Cromwell was Charles's death-warrant. Charles knew his power; and Cromwell and Ireton knew it likewise, and knew that it was the power of a man who was within a yard's length of a talisman, only not within an arm's length, but which in that state of the public mind, could he but have once grasped it, would have enabled him to blow up Presbyterian and Independent both. If ever a lawless act was defensible on the principle of self-preservation, the murder of Charles might be defended. I suspect that the fatal delay in the publication of the *Icon Basilike* is susceptible of no other satisfactory explanation. In short it is absurd to burthen this act on Cromwell and his party, in any special sense. The guilt, if

guilt it was, was consummated at the gates of Hull ; that is, the first moment that Charles was treated as an individual, man against man. Whatever right Hampden had to defend his life against the King in battle, Cromwell and Ireton had in yet more imminent danger against the King's plotting. Milton's reasoning on this point is unanswerable : and what a wretched hand does Baxter make of it !

Ibid. p. 375.

But if the laws of the land appoint the nobles, as next the King, to assist him in doing right, and withhold him from doing wrong, then be they licensed by man's law, and so not prohibited by God's, to interpose themselves for the safety of equity and innocency, and by all lawful and needful means to procure the Prince to be reformed, but in no case deprived, where the sceptre is inherited ! So far Bishop Bilson.

Excellent ! O, by all means preserve for him the benefit of his rightful heir-loom, the regal sceptre ; only lay it about his shoulders, till he promises to handle it, as he ought ! But what if he breaks his promise and your head ? or what if he will not promise ? How much honester would it be to say, that extreme cases are *ipso nomine* not generalisable,—therefore not the subjects of a law, which is the conclusion *per genus singuli in genere inclusi*. Every extreme case must be judged by and for itself under all the peculiar circumstances. Now as these are not foreknowable, the case itself cannot be pre-determinable. Harmodius and Aristogiton did not justify Brutus and Cassius : but neither do Brutus and Cassius criminate Harmodius and Aristogiton. The rule applies till an extreme case occurs ; and how can this be proved ? I answer, the only proof is

success and good event; for these afford the best presumption, first, of the extremity, and secondly, of its remediable nature—the two elements of its justification. To every individual it is forbidden. He who attempts it, therefore, must do so on the presumption that the will of the nation is in his will: whether he is mad or in his senses, the event can alone determine.

Ibid. p. 398.

The governing power and obligation over the flock is essential to the office of a Pastor or Presbyter as instituted by Christ.

There is ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ one flaw in Baxter's plea for his Presbyterian form of Church government, that he uses a metaphor, which, inasmuch as it is but a metaphor, agrees with the thing meant in some points only, as if it were commensurate *in toto*, and virtually identical. Thus, the Presbyter is a shepherd as far as the watchfulness, tenderness, and care, are to be the same in both; but it does not follow that the Presbyter has the same sole power and exclusive right of guidance; and for this reason,—that his flock are not sheep, but men; not of a natural, generic, or even constant inferiority of judgment; but Christians, co-heirs of the promises, and therein of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and of the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. How then can they be excluded from a share in Church Government? The words of Christ, if they may be transferred from their immediate application to the Jewish Synagogue, suppose the contrary;—and that highest act of government, the election of the officers and ministers of the Church, was confessedly exercised by the congregations including the Presbyters and Arch-presbyter or Bishop, in the

primitive Church. The question, therefore, is :— Is a national Church, established by law, compatible with Christianity? If so, as Baxter held, the representatives (King, Lords, and Commons,) are or may be representatives of the whole people as Christians as well as civil subjects ;—and their voice will then be the voice of the Church, which every individual, as an individual, themselves as individuals, and *à fortiori*, the officers and administrators appointed by them, are bound to obey at the risk of excommunication, against which there would be no appeal, but to the heavenly Cæsar, the Lord and Head of the universal Church. But whether as the accredited representatives and plenipotentiaries of the national Church, they can avail themselves of their conjoint but distinct character, as temporal legislators, to superadd corporal or civil penalties to the spiritual sentence in points peculiar to Christianity, as heretical opinions, Church ceremonies, and the like, thus destroying *discipline*, even as wood is destroyed by combination with fire ;— this is a new and difficult question, which yet Baxter and the Presbyterian divines, and the Puritans of that age in general, not only answered affirmatively, but most zealously, not to say furiously ; affirmed with anathemas to the assertors of the negative, and spiritual threats to the magistrates neglecting to interpose the temporal sword. In this respect the present Dissenters have the advantage over their earlier predecessors ; but on the other hand they utterly evacuate the Scriptural commands against schism ; take away all sense and significance from the article respecting the Catholic Church ; and in consequence degrade the discipline itself into mere club-regulations or the by-laws of different lodges ;—that very discipline, the capability of exercising which in its own specific nature without superinduction of a destructive

and transmutual opposite, is the fairest and firmest support of their cause. 20th October, 1829.

Ibid. p. 401.

That sententially it must be done by the Pastor or Governor of that particular Church, which the person is to be admitted into, or cast out of.

This most arbitrary appropriation of the words of Christ, and of the Apostles, John and Paul, by the Clergy to themselves exclusively, is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, the fatal error which has practically excluded Church discipline from among Protestants in all free countries. That it is retained, and an efficient power, among the Quakers, and only in that Sect, who act collectively as a Church,—who not only have no proper Clergy, but will not allow a division of majority and minority, nor a temporary president,—seems to supply an unanswerable confirmation of this my assertion, and a strong presumption for the validity of my argument. The Wesleyan Methodists have, I know, a discipline, and the power is in their consistory,—a general conclave of priests-cardinal since the death of Pope Wesley. But what divisions and secessions this has given rise to; what discontents and heart-burnings it still occasions in their labouring inferior ministers, and in the classes, is no less notorious, and may authorise a belief that as the Sect increases, it will be less and less effective; nay, that it has decreased; and after all, what is it compared with the discipline of the Quakers?—Baxter's inconsistency on this subject would be inexplicable, did we not know his zealotry against Harrington, the Deists and the Mystics;—so that, like an electrified pith-ball, he is for ever attracted towards their tenets concerning the pretended perfecting of spiritual

sentences by the civil magistrate, but he touches only to fly off again. 'Toleration! dainty word for soul-murder! God grant that my eye may never see a toleration!' he exclaims in his book against Harrington's Oceana.

Ibid. p. 405.

As for the democratical conceit of them that say that the Parliament hath their governing power, as they are the people's representatives, and so have the members of the convocation, though those represented have no governing power themselves, it is so palpably self-contradicting, that I need not confute it.

Self-contradicting according to Baxter's sense of the words 'represent' and 'govern.' But every rational adult has a governing power: namely, that of governing himself.

Ibid. p. 412.

That though a subject ought to take an oath in the sense of his rulers who impose it, as far as he can understand it; yet a man that taketh an oath from a robber to save his life is not always bound to take it in the imposer's sense, if he take it not against the proper sense of the words.

This is a point on which I have never been able to satisfy myself.—The only safe conclusion I have been able to draw, being the folly, mischief, and immorality of all oaths but judicial ones,—and those no farther excepted than as they are means of securing a deliberate consciousness of the presence of the Omniscient Judge. The inclination of my mind is, at this moment, to the principle that an oath may deepen the guilt of an act sinful in itself, but cannot be detached from the act; it being understood that a perfectly voluntary and self-imposed oath is itself

a sin. The man who compels me to take an oath by putting a pistol to my ear has, in my mind, clearly forfeited all his right to be treated as a moral agent. Nay, it seems to be a sin to act so as to induce him to suppose himself such. Contingent consequences must be excluded; but would, I am persuaded, weigh in favour of annulling on principle an oath sinfully extorted. But I hate casuistry so utterly, that I could not, without great violence to my feelings, put the case in all its bearings. For example:—it is sinful to enlarge the power of wicked agents; but to allow them to have the power of binding the conscience of those, whom they have injured, is to enlarge the power, &c. Again: no oath can bind to the perpetration of a sin; but to transfer a sum of money from its rightful owner to a villain is a sin, &c., and twenty other such. But the robber may kill the next man! Possibly: but still more probably, many, who would be robbers if they could obtain their ends without murder, would resist the temptation if no extenuations of guilt were contemplated;—and one murder is more effective in rousing the public mind to preventive measures, and by the horror it strikes, is made more directly preventive of the tendency, than fifty civil robberies by contract.

Ibid. p. 435.

That the minister be not bound to read the Liturgy himself, if another, by whomsoever, be procured to do it: so be it he preach not against it.

Wonderful, that so good and wise a man as Baxter should not have seen that in this the Church would have given up the best, perhaps the only efficient, preservative of her Faith. But for our blessed and

truly Apostolic and Scriptural Liturgy, our churches' pews would long ago have been filled by Arians and Socinians, as too many of their desks and pulpits already are.

Part III. p. 59.

As also to make us take such a poor suffering as this for a sign of true grace, instead of faith, hope, love, mortification, and a heavenly mind; and that the loss of one grain of love was worse than a long imprisonment.

Here Baxter confounds his own particular case, which very many would have coveted, with the sufferings of other prisoners on the same score;—sufferings nominally the same, but with few, if any, of Baxter's almost flattering supports.

Ibid. p. 60.

It would trouble the reader for me to reckon up the many diseases and dangers for these ten years past, in or from which God hath delivered me; though it be my duty not to forget to be thankful. Seven months together I was lame with a strange pain in one foot, twice delivered from a bloody flux; a spurious cataract in my eye, with incessant webs and net-works before it, hath continued these eight years, * * * so that I have rarely one hour's or quarter of an hour's ease. Yet through God's mercy I was never one hour melancholy, &c.

The power of the soul, by its own act of will, is, I admit, great for any one occasion or for a definite time, yea, it is marvellous. But of such exertions and such an even frame of spirit, as Baxter's were, under such unremitting and almost unheard-of bodily derangements and pains as his, and during so long a life, I do not believe a human soul capable, unless

substantiated and successively potentiated by an especial divine grace.

Ibid. p. 65.

The reasons why I make no larger a profession necessary than the Creed and Scriptures, are, because if we depart from this old sufficient Catholic rule, we narrow the Church, and depart from the old Catholicism.

Why then any Creed? This is the difficulty. If you put the Creed as in fact, and not by courtesy, Apostolic, and on a parity with Scripture, having, namely, its authority in itself, and a direct inspiration of the framers, inspired *ad id tempus et ad eam rem*, on what ground is this to be done, without admitting the binding power of tradition in the very sense of the term in which the Church of Rome uses it, and the Protestant Churches reject it? That it is the sum total made by Apostolic contributions, each Apostle casting, as into a helmet, a several article as his *σύμβολον*, is the tradition; and this is holden as a mere legendary tale by the great majority of learned divines. That it is simply the Creed of the Western Church is affirmed by many Protestant divines, and some of these divines of our Church. Its comparative simplicity these divines explain by the freedom from heresies enjoyed by the Western Church, when the Eastern Church had been long troubled therewith. Others, again, and not unplausibly, contend that it was the Creed of the Catechumens preparatory to the Baptismal profession of faith, which other was a fuller comment on the union of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, into whose name (or power) they were baptised. That the Apostles' Creed received additions after the Apostolic age, seems almost certain; not to mention the perplexing circumstance

that so many of the Latin Fathers, who give almost the words of the Apostolic Creed, declare it forbidden absolutely to write or by any material form to transmit the *Canon Fidei*, or *Symbolum* or *Regula Fidei*, the Creed κατ' ἐξοχήν, by analogy of which the question whether such a book was Scripture or not, was to be tried. With such doubts how can the Apostles' Creed be preferred to the Nicene by a consistent member of the Reformed Catholic Church?

Ibid. p. 67.

They think while you (the Independents) seem to be for a stricter discipline than others, that your way or usual practice tendeth to extirpate godliness out of the land, by taking a very few that can talk more than the rest, and making them the Church, &c.

Had Baxter had as judicious advisers among his theological, as he had among his legal, friends; and had he allowed them equal influence with him; he would not, I suspect, have written this irritating and too egometical paragraph. But Baxter would have disbelieved a prophet who had foretold that almost the whole orthodoxy of the Non-conformists would be retained and preserved by the Independent congregations in England, after the Presbyterian had almost without exception become, first, Arian, then Socinian, and finally Unitarian: that is, the *demi-semi-quaver* of Christianity, Arminianism being taken for the *semi-breve*.

Ibid. p. 69.

After this I waited on him (Dr. John Owen) at London again, and he came once to me to my lodgings, when I was in town near him. And he told me that he received my chiding letter and perceived that I suspected his reality in

the business: but he was so hearty in it that I should see that he really meant as he spoke, concluding in these words, "You shall see it, and my practice shall reproach your diffidence" * * *. About a month after I went to him again, and he had done nothing, but was still hearty for the work. And to be short, I thus waited on him time after time, till my papers had been near a year and a quarter in his hand, and then I advised him to return them to me, which he did, with these words, "I am still a well-wisher to those mathematics;"—without any other words about them, or ever giving me any more exception against them. And this was the issue of my third attempt for union with the Independents.

Dr. Owen was a man of no ordinary intellect. It would be interesting to have his conduct in this point, seemingly so strange, in some measure explained: The words 'those mathematics' look like an inuendo, that Baxter's scheme of union, by which all the parties opposed to the Prelatic Church were to form a rival Church, was like the mathematics, true indeed, but true only to the idea, that is, abstracted from the subject matter. Still there appears a very chilling want of open-heartedness on the part of Owen, produced perhaps by the somewhat overly and certainly most ungracious resentments of Baxter. It was odd at least to propose concord in the tone and on the alleged ground of an old grudge.

Ibid.

I have been twenty-six years convinced that dichotomizing will not do it, but that the divine Trinity in Unity hath expressed itself in the whole frame of nature and morality * * *. But he, Mr. George Lawson, had not hit on the true method of the *vestigia Trinitatis*, &c.

Among Baxter's philosophical merits, we ought not to overlook, that the substitution of Trichotomy

for, the old and still general plan of Dichotomy in the method and disposition of Logic, which forms so prominent and substantial an excellence in Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason, of the Judgment, and the rest of his works, belongs originally to Richard Baxter, a century before Kant;—and this not as a hint, but as a fully evolved and systematically applied principle. Nay, more than this:—Baxter grounded it on an absolute idea presupposed in all intelligential acts: whereas Kant takes it only as a fact in which he seems to anticipate or suspect some yet deeper truth latent, and hereafter to be discovered.

On recollection, however, I am disposed to consider *this* alone as Baxter's peculiar claim. I have not indeed any distinct memory of Giordano Bruno's *Logice Venatrix Veritatis*; but doubtless the principle of Trichotomy is necessarily involved in the Polar Logic, which again is the same with the Pythagorean *Tetractys*, that is, the eternal fountain or source of nature; and this being sacred to contemplations of identity, and prior in order of thought to all division, is so far from interfering with Trichotomy as the universal form of division (more correctly of distinctive distribution in logic) that it implies it. *Prothesis* being by the very term anterior to *Thesis* can be no part of it. Thus in

	<i>Prothesis</i>	
<i>Thesis</i>		<i>Antithesis</i>
	<i>Synthesis</i>	

we have the Tetrad indeed in the intellectual and intuitive contemplation, but a Triad in discursive arrangement, and a Tri-unity in result.*

* See Table Talk, p. 162. 2nd edit.—Ed.

Ibid. p. 144.

Seeing the great difficulties that lie in the way of increasing charities so as to meet the increase of population, or even so as to follow it, and the manifold desirableness of parish Churches, with the material dignity that in a right state of Christian order would attach to them, as compared with meeting-houses, chapels, and the like—all more or less *privati juris*, I have often felt disposed to wish that the large majestic Church, central to each given parish, might have been appropriated to Public Prayer, to the mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to the *quasi sacramenta*, Marriage, Penance, Confirmation, Ordination, and to the continued reading aloud, or occasional chanting, of the Scriptures during the intervals of the different Services, which ought to be so often performed as to suffice successively for the whole population; and that on the other hand the chapels and the like should be entirely devoted to teaching and expounding.

Ibid. p. 153.

And I proved to him that Christianity was proved true many years before any of the New Testament was written, and that so it may be still proved by one that doubted of some words of the Scripture; and therefore the true order is, to try the truth of the Christian religion first, and the perfect verity of the Scriptures afterwards.

With more than Dominican virulence did Goeze, Head Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Hamburg, assail the celebrated Lessing for making and supporting the same position as the pious Baxter here advances.

This controversy with Goeze was in 1778, nearly a hundred years after Baxter's writing this.

Ibid. p. 155.

And within a few days Mr. Barnett riding the circuit was cast by his horse, and died in the very fall. And Sir John Medlicote and his brother, a few weeks after, lay both dead in his house together.

This interpreting of accidents and coincidences into judgments is a breach of charity and humility, only not universal among all sects and parties of this period, and common to the best and gentlest men in all; we should not therefore bring it in charge against any one in particular. But what excuse shall be made for the revival of this presumptuous encroachment on the divine prerogative in our days?

Ibid. p. 180.

Near this time my book called *A Key for Catholics*, was to be reprinted. In the preface to the first impression I had mentioned with praise the Earl of Lauderdale. * * * I thought best to prefix an epistle to the Duke, in which I said not a word of him but truth. * * * But the indignation that men had against the Duke made some blame me, as keeping up the reputation of one whom multitudes thought very ill of; whereas I owned none of his faults, and did nothing that I could well avoid for the aforesaid reasons. Long after this he professed his kindness to me, and told me I should never want while he was able, and humbly entreated me to accept twenty guineas from him, which I did.

This would be a curious proof of the slow and imperfect intercourse of communication between Scotland and London, if Baxter had not been particularly informed of Lauderdale's horrible cruelties to the Scotch Covenanters:—and if Baxter did know them, he surely ran into a greater inconsistency to avoid the

appearance of a less. And the twenty guineas ! they must have smelt, I should think, of more than the earthly brimstone that might naturally enough have been expected in gold or silver, from his palm. I would as soon have plucked an ingot from the cleft of the Devil's hoof.

Ταῦτ' ἔλεγον περίθυμος· ἐγὼ γὰρ μίσει ἐν Ἰσφ
Λαυδέρδαλον ἔχω καὶ κερκοκερόνυχα Σατᾶν.

Ibid. p. 181.

About that time I had finished a book called *Catholic Thoughts*; in which I undertake to prove that besides things unrevealed, known to none, and ambiguous words, there is no considerable difference between the Arminians and Calvinists, except some very tolerable difference in the point of perseverance.

What Arminians ? what Calvinists ?—It is possible that the guarded language and positions of Arminius himself may be interpreted into a 'very tolerable' compatibility with the principles of the milder Calvinists, such as Archbishop Leighton, that true Father of the Church of Christ. But I more than doubt the possibility of even approximating the principles of Bishop Jeremy Taylor to the fundamental doctrines of Leighton, much more to those of Cartwright, Twiss, or Owen.

Ibid. p. 186.

Bishop Barlow told my friend that got my papers for him, that he could hear of nothing that we judged to be sin, but mere inconveniences. When as above seventeen years ago, we publicly endeavoured to prove the sinfulness even of many of the old impositions.

Clearly an undeterminable controversy ; inasmuch

as there is no contra-definition possible of sin and inconvenience in religion: while the exact point, at which an inconvenience, becoming intolerable, passes into sin, must depend on the state and the degree of light, of the individual consciences to which it appears or becomes intolerable. Besides, a thing may not be only indifferent in itself, but may be declared such by Scripture, and on this indifference the Scripture may have rested a prohibition to Christians to judge each other on the point. If yet a Pope or Archbishop should force this on the consciences of others, for example, to eat or not to eat animal food, would he not sin in so doing? And does Scripture permit me to subscribe to an ordinance made in direct contempt of a command of Scripture? If it were said,—In all matters indifferent and so not sinful you must comply with lawful authority:—must I not reply, But you have yourself removed the indifference by your injunction? Look in Popish countries for the hideous consequences of the unnatural doctrine—that the Priest may go to Hell for sinfully commanding, and his parishioners go with him for not obeying that command.

Ibid. p. 191.

About this time died my dear friend Mr. Thomas Gouge, of whose life you may see a little in Mr. Clark's last book of Lives:—a wonder of sincere industry in works of charity. It would make a volume to recite at large the charity he used to his poor parishioners at Sepulchre's, before he was ejected and silenced for non-conformity, &c.

I cannot express how much it grieves me, that our Clergy should still think it fit and expedient to defend the measures of the High Churchmen from Laud to Sheldon, and to speak of the ejected ministers,

Calamy, Baxter, Gouge, Howe, and others, as schismatics, factionists, fanatics, or Pharisees;—thus to flatter some half-dozen dead Bishops, wantonly depriving our present Church of the authority of perhaps the largest collective number of learned and zealous, discreet and holy, ministers that one age and one Church was ever blest with; and whose authority in every considerable point is in favour of our Church, and against the present Dissenters from it. And this seems the more impolitic, when it must be clear to every student of the history of these times, that the unmanly cruelties inflicted on Baxter and others were, as Bishops Ward, Stillingfleet, and others saw at the time, part of the Popish scheme of the Cabal, to trick the Bishops and dignified Clergy into rendering themselves and the established Church odious to the public by laws, the execution of which the King, the Duke, Arlington, and the Popish priests directed towards the very last man that the Bishops themselves (the great majority at least) would have molested.

Appendix II. p. 87.

If I can prove that it hath been the universal practice of the Church *in nudum apertum caput manus imponere*, doth it follow that this is essential, and the contrary null?

How likewise can it be proved that the imposition of hands in Ordination did not stand on the same ground as the imposition of hands in sickness; that is, the miraculous gifts of the first preachers of the Gospel? All Protestants admit that the Church retained several forms so originated, after the cessation of the originating powers, which were the substance of these forms.

Ibid.

If you think not only imposition to be essential, but also that nothing else is essential, or that all are true ministers that are ordained by a lawful Bishop *per manuum impositionem*, then do you egregiously *tibi ipsi imponere*.

Baxter, like most scholastic logicians, had a sneaking affection for puns. The cause is,—the necessity of attending to the primary sense of words, that is, the visual image or general relation expressed, and which remains common to all the after senses, however widely or even incongruously differing from each other in other respects. For the same reason, school-masters are commonly punsters. “I have indorsed your Bill, sir,” said a pedagogue to a merchant, meaning he had flogged his son William.—My old master, the Rev. James Bowyer, the *Hercules furens* of the phlogistic sect, but else an incomparable teacher,—used to translate, *Nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*,—first reciting the Latin words, and observing that they were the fundamental article of the Peripatetic school,—‘You must flog a boy, before you can make him understand;’—or, ‘You must lay it in at the tail before you can get it into the head.’

Ibid. p. 45.

Then, that the will must follow the practical intellect whether right or wrong,—that is no precept, but the nature of the soul in its acting, because that the will is *potentia cæca*, *non nata ad intelligendum, sed ad volendum vel nolendum intellectum*.

This is the main fault in Baxter's metaphysics, that he so often substantiates distinctions into dividuous self-subsistents. As here ;—for a will not intelligent is no will.

Appendix III. p. 55.

And for many ages no other ordinarily baptised but infants. If Christ had no Church then, where was his wisdom, his love, and his power? What was become of the glory of his redemption, and his Catholic Church, that was to continue to the end?

But the Antipædo-Baptists would deny any such consequences as applicable to them, who are to act according to the circumstances, in which God, who ordains his successive manifestations in due correspondence with other lights and states of things, has placed them. He does not exclude from the Church of Christ (say they) those whom we do not accept into the communion of our particular Society, any more than the House of Lords excludes Commoners from being Members of Parliament. And we do this because we think that such promiscuous admission would prolong an error which would be deadly to us, though not to you who interpret the Scriptures otherwise.

In fine.

There are two senses in which the words, 'Church of England,' may be used;—first, with reference to the idea of the Church as an estate of this Christian Realm, protesting against the Papal usurpation, comprising, first, the interests of a permanent learned class, that is, the Clergy;—secondly, those of the proper, that is, the infirm poor from age or sickness;—and thirdly, the adequate proportional instruction of all in all classes by public prayer, recitation of the Scriptures, by expounding, preaching, catechising, and schooling; and last, not least, by the example and influence of a pastor and a school-master placed as a germ of civilisation and cultivation in every parish throughout the land. To this idea,

the Reformed Church of England with its marriable and married Clergy would have approximated, if the revenues of the Church, as they existed at the death of Henry VII., had been rightly transferred by his successor; — transferred, I mean, from reservoirs which had by degeneracy on the one hand, and progressive improvement on the other, fallen into ruin, and in which those revenues had stagnated into contagion or uselessness,—transferred from what had become public evils to their original and inherent purpose of public benefits, instead of being sacrilegiously alienated by a transfer to private proprietors. That this was impracticable, is historically true: but no less true is it philosophically, that this impracticability, arising wholly from moral causes, (namely, the loose manners and corrupt principles of a great majority in all classes during the dynasty of the Tudors,) does not prevent this wholesale sacrilege from deserving the character of the first and deadliest wound inflicted on the Constitution of the kingdom; which term, in the body politic, as in bodies natural, expresses not only what is and has been evolved, but likewise whatever is potentially contained in the seminal principle of the particular body, and which would in its due time have appeared but for emasculation in its infancy. This, however, is the first sense of the words, Church of England.*

The second is the Church of England as now by law established, and by practice of the law actually existing. That in the first sense it is the object of my admiration and the earthly *ne plus ultra* of my religious aspirations, it were superfluous to say: but I may be allowed to express my conviction, that on our recurring to the same ends and objects, (the

* See the Church and State, p. 73. 3rd edit.—Ed.

restoration of a national and circulating property in counterpoise of individual possession, disposable and heritable) though in other forms and by other means perhaps, the decline or progress of this country depends. In the second sense of the words I can sincerely profess, that I love and honour the Church of England, comparatively, beyond any other Church established or unestablished now existing in Christendom; and it is wholly in consequence of this deliberate and most affectionate filial preference, that I have read this work, and Calamy's historical writings, with so deep and so melancholy an interest. And I dare avow that I cannot but regard as an ignorant bigot every man who (especially since the publicity and authentication of the contents of the Stuart Papers, Memoirs and Life of James II. &c.) can place the far later furious High Church compilations and stories of Walker and others in competition with the veracity and general verity of Baxter and Calamy; or can forget that the great body of Non-conformists to whom these great and good men belonged, were not dissenters from the established Church willingly, but an orthodox and numerous portion of the Church. Omitting then the wound received by religion generally under Henry VIII., and the shameless secularisations clandestinely effected during the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James, I am disposed to consider the three following as the grand evil epochs of our present Church. First, The introduction and after-predominance of Latitudinarianism under the name of Arminianism, and the spirit of a conjoint Romanism and Socinianism at the latter half or towards the close of the reign of James I. in the persons of Montague, Laud, and their confederates. Second, The ejection of the two thousand ministers after the

Restoration, with the other violences in which the Churchmen made themselves the dupes of Charles, James, the Jesuits, and the French Court. (See the Stuart Papers *passim*.) It was this that gave consistence and enduring strength to Schism in this country, prevented the pacation of Ireland, and prepared for the separation of America at a far too early period for the true interest of either country. Third, The surrender by the Clergy of the right of taxing themselves, and the Jacobitical follies that combined with the former to put it in the power of the Whig party to deprive the Church of her Convocation,—a bitter disgrace and wrong, to which most unhappily the people were rendered indifferent by the increasing contrasts of the sermons of the Clergy with the Articles and Homilies of the Church itself,—but a wrong nevertheless which already has avenged, and will sooner or later be seen to avenge, itself on the State and the governing classes that continue this boast of a short-sighted policy; the same policy which in our own days would have funded the property of the Church, and, by converting the Clergy into salaried dependants on the Government *pro tempore*, have deprived the Establishment of its fairest honor, that of being neither enslaved to the court, nor to the congregations; the same policy, alas! which even now pays and patronises a Board of Agriculture to undermine all landed property by a succession of false, shallow, and inflammatory libels against tithes.

These are my weighed sentiments: and fervently desiring, as I do, the perpetuity and prosperity of the Established Church, zealous for its rights and dignity, preferring its forms, believing its Articles of Faith, and holding its Book of Common Prayer and its translation of the Scriptures among my highest privileges as a Christian and an Englishman, I trust

that I may both entertain and avow these sentiments without forfeiting any part of my claim to the name of a faithful member of the Church of England. June, 1820.

N.B. As to Warburton's Alliance of the Church and State, I object to the title (Alliance), and to the matter and mode of the reasoning. But the interdependence of the Church and the State appears to me a truth of the highest practical importance. Let but the temporal powers protect the subjects in their just rights as subjects merely: and I do not know of any one point in which the Church has the right or the necessity to call in the temporal power as its ally for any purpose exclusively ecclesiastic. The right of a firm to dissolve its partnership with any one partner, breach of contract having been proved, and publicly to announce the same, is common to all men as social beings.

I spoke above of 'Romanism.' But call it, if you like, Laudism, or Lambethism, in temporalities and ceremonials, and of Socinianism in doctrine, that is, a retaining of the word but a rejecting or interpreting away of the sense and substance of the Scriptural Mysteries. This spirit has not indeed manifested itself in the article of the Trinity, since Waterland gave the death-blow to Arianism, and so left no alternative to the Clergy, but the actual divinity or mere humanity of our Lord: and the latter would be too impudent an avowal for a public reader of our Church Liturgy: but in the articles of original sin, the necessity of regeneration, the necessity of redemption in order to the possibility of regeneration, of justification by faith, and of prevenient and auxiliary grace,—all I can say with sincerity is, that our orthodoxy seems so far in an improving state, that I can hope for the time when Churchmen will use the term Arminianism to

express a habit of belief opposed not to Calvinism, or the works of Calvin, but to the Articles of our own Church, and to the doctrine in which all the first Reformers agreed.

Note—That by Latitudinarianism, I do not mean the particular tenets of the divines so called, such as Dr. H. More, Cudworth and their compeers, relative to toleration, comprehension, and the general belief that in the greater number of points then most controverted, the pious of all parties were far more nearly of the same mind than their own imperfections, and the imperfection of language allowed them to see: I mean the disposition to explain away the articles of the Church on the pretext of their inconsistency with right reason;—when in fact it was only an incongruity with a wrong understanding, the faculty which St. Paul calls *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, the rules of which having been all abstracted from objects of sense (finite in time and space), are logically applicable to objects of the sense alone. This I have elsewhere called the spirit of Socinianism, which may work in many whose tenets are anti-Socinian.

Law is—*conclusio per regulam generis singulorum in genere isto inclusorum*. Now the extremes *et inclusa* are contradictory terms. Therefore extreme cases are not capable subjects of law *a priori*, but must proceed on knowledge of the past, and anticipation of the future, and the fulfilment of the anticipation is the proof, because the only possible determination, of the accuracy of the knowledge. In other words, the agents may be condemned or honored according to their intentions, and the apparent source of their motives; so we honor Brutus, but the extreme case itself is tried by the event.

NOTES ON LEIGHTON.*



SURELY if ever work not in the sacred Canon might suggest a belief of inspiration,—of something more than human,—this it is. When Mr. Elwyn made this assertion, I took it as the hyperbole of affection: but now I subscribe to it seriously, and bless the hour that introduced me to the knowledge of the evangelical, apostolical Archbishop Leighton. April, 1814.

Next to the inspired Scriptures—yea, and as the vibration of that once struck hour remaining on the air, stands Leighton's Commentary on the 1st Epistle of St. Peter.

Comment, vol. i. p. 2.

— their redemption and salvation by Christ Jesus; that inheritance of immortality bought by his blood for them, and the evidence and stability of their right and title to it.

By the blood of Christ I mean this. I contemplate the Christ, 1;—As *Christus agens*, the Jehovah Christ, the Word: 2;—As *Christus patiens*, the God Incarnate. In the former he is *relativè ad intellectum humanum, lux lucifica, sol intelligibilis: relativè ad existentiam humanam, anima animans, calor fovens*. In the latter he is *vita vivificans, principium spiritualis, id est, veræ reproductionis in vitam veram*. Now this principle, or *vis vitæ vitam vivificans*, considered in *forma passiva, assimilationem patiens*, at the same time that it excites the soul to

* Works of Leighton, 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1819.—*Ed.*

the vital act of assimilating—this is the Blood of Christ, really present through faith to, and actually partaken by, the faithful. Of this the body is the continual product, that is, a good life—the merits of Christ acting on the soul, *redemptive*.

Ibid. pp. 13-15.

Of their sanctification : *elect unto obedience, &c.*

That the doctrines asserted in this and the two or three following pages cannot be denied or explained away, without removing (as the modern Unitarians), or (as the Arminians) unsettling and undermining, the foundations of the faith, I am fully convinced; and equally so, that nothing is gained by the change, the very same logical consequences being deducible from the tenets of the Church Arminians;—scarcely more so, indeed, from those which they still hold in common with Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Knox, and Cranmer, and the other Fathers of the Reformation in England, and which are therefore most unfairly entitled Calvinism—than from those which they have attempted to substitute in their place. Nay, the shock given to the moral sense by these consequences is, to my feelings, aggravated in the Arminian doctrine by the thin yet dishonest disguise. Meantime the consequences appear to me, in point of logic, legitimately concluded from the terms of the premisses. What shall we say, then? Where lies the fault? In the original doctrines expressed in the premisses? God forbid. In the particular deductions, logically considered? But these we have found legitimate. Where then? I answer in deducing any consequences by such a process, and according to such rules. The rules are alien and inapplicable;

the process presumptuous, yea, preposterous. The error, τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, lies in the false assumption of a logical deducibility at all, in this instance. First: because the terms from which the conclusion must be drawn—(*termini in majore præmissi, a quibus scientialiter et scientificè demonstrandum erat*) are accommodations and not scientific—that is, proper and adequate, not *per idem*, but *per quam maxime simile*, or rather *quam maxime dissimile*: Secondly;—because the truths in question are transcendent, and have their evidence, if any, in the ideas themselves, and for the reason; and do not and cannot derive it from the conceptions of the understanding, which cannot comprehend the truths, but is to be comprehended in and by them (*John i. 5.*): Lastly, and chiefly;—because these truths, as they do not originate in the intellective faculty of man, so neither are they addressed primarily to our intellect; but are substantiated for us by their correspondence to the wants, cravings, and interests of the moral being, for which they were given, and without which they would be devoid of all meaning—*vox et præterea nihil*. The only conclusions, therefore, that can be drawn from them, must be such as are implied in the origin and purpose of their revelation; and the legitimacy of all conclusions must be tried by their consistency with those moral interests, those spiritual necessities, which are the proper final cause of the truths and of our faith therein. For some of the faithful these truths have, I doubt not, an evidence of reason; but for the whole household of faith their certainty is in their working. Now it is this, by which, in all cases, we know and determine existence in the first instance. That which works in us or on us exists for us. The shapes and forms that follow the working as its results or products, whether the shapes cognisable by sense

or the forms distinguished by the intellect, are after all but the particularisations of this working; its proper names, as it were, as John, James, Peter, in respect of human nature. They are all derived from the relations in which finite beings stand to each other; and are therefore heterogeneous and, except by accommodation, devoid of meaning and purpose when applied to the working in and by which God makes his existence known to us, and (we may presume to say) especially exists for the soul in whom he thus works. On these grounds, therefore, I hold the doctrines of original sin, the redemption therefrom by the Cross of Christ, and change of heart as the consequent; without adopting the additions to the doctrines inferred by one set of divines, the modern Calvinists, or acknowledging the consequences burdened on the doctrines by their antagonists. Nor is this my faith fairly liable to any inconvenience, if only it be remembered that it is a spiritual working of which I speak, and a spiritual knowledge,—not through the *medium* of image, the seeking after which is superstition; nor yet by any sensation, the watching for which is enthusiasm, and the conceit of its presence fanatical distemperature. ‘Do the will of the Father, and ye shall *know* it.’

We must distinguish the life and the soul; though there is a certain sense in which the life may be called the soul; that is, the life is the soul of the body. But the soul is the life of the man, and Christ is the life of the soul. Now the spirit of man, the spirit subsistent, is deeper than both, not only deeper than the body and its life, but deeper than the soul; and the Spirit descendent and supersistent is higher than both. In the regenerated man the height and the depth become one—the Spirit communeth with the spirit—and the soul is the *inter ens*, or *ens-inter-*

medium between the life and the spirit;—the *participium*,—not as a compound, however, but as a *medium indifferens*—in the same sense in which heat may be designated as the indifference between light and gravity. And what is the Reason?—The spirit in its presence to the understanding abstractedly from its presence in the will,—nay, in many, during the negation of the latter. The spirit present to man, but not appropriated by him, is the reason of man:—the reason in the process of its identification with the will is the spirit.

Ibid. pp. 63-4.

Can we deny that it is unbelief of those things that causeth this neglect and forgetting of them? The discourse, the tongue of men and angels cannot beget divine belief of the happiness to come; only He that gives it, gives faith likewise to apprehend it, and lay hold upon it, and upon our believing to be filled with joy in the hopes of it.

Most true, most true!

Ibid. p. 68.

In spiritual trials that are the sharpest and most fiery of all, when the furnace is within a man, when God doth not only shut up his loving-kindness from its feeling, but seems to shut it up in hot displeasure, when he writes bitter things against it; yet then to depend upon him, and wait for his salvation, this is not only a true, but a strong and very refined faith indeed, and the more he smites, the more to cleave to him. * * * Though I saw, as it were, his hand lifted up to destroy me, yet from that same hand would I expect salvation.

Bless God, O my soul, for this sweet and strong comforter! It is the honey in the lion.

Ibid. p. 75.

This natural men may discourse of, and that very knowingly, and give a kind of natural credit to it as to a history that may be true; but firmly to believe that there is divine truth in all these things, and to have a persuasion of it stronger than of the very things we see with our eyes; such an assent as this is the peculiar work of the Spirit of God, and is certainly saving faith.

Lord, I believe: help thou my unbelief! My reason acquiesces, and I believe enough to fear. Oh grant me the belief that brings sweet hope!

Ibid. p. 76.

Faith * * causes the soul to find all that is spoken of him in the word, and his beauty there represented, to be abundantly true, makes it really taste of his sweetness, and by that possesses the heart more strongly with his love, persuading it of the truth of those things, not by reasons and arguments, but by an inexpressible kind of evidence, that they only know that have it.

Either this is true, or religion is not religion; that is, it adds nothing to our human reason; *non religat*. Grant it, grant it me, O Lord!

Ibid. pp. 104-5.

This sweet stream of their doctrine did, as the rivers, make its own banks fertile and pleasant as it ran by, and flowed still forward to after ages, and by the confluence of more such prophecies grew greater as it went, till it fell in with the main current of the Gospel in the New Testament, both acted and preached by the great Prophet himself, whom they foretold to come, and recorded by his Apostles and Evangelists, and thus united into one river, clear as crystal. This doctrine of salvation in the Scriptures hath still refreshed

the city of God, his Church under the Gospel, and still shall do so, till it empty itself into the ocean of eternity.

In the whole course of my studies I do not remember to have read so beautiful an allegory as this; so various and detailed, and yet so just and natural.

Ibid. p. 121.

There is a truth in it, that all sin arises from some kind of ignorance * * * For were the true visage of sin seen at a full light, undressed and unpainted, it were impossible, while it so appeared, that any one soul could be in love with it, but would rather flee from it as hideous and abominable.

This is the only (defect shall I say? No, but the only) omission I have felt in this divine writer—for him we understand by feeling, experimentally—that he doth not notice the horrible tyranny of habit. What the Archbishop says, is most true, of beginners in sin: but this is the foretaste of hell, to see and loathe the deformity of the wedded vice, and yet still to embrace and nourish it.

Ibid. p. 122.

He calls those times wherein Christ was unknown to them, *the times of their ignorance*. Though the stars shine never so bright, and the moon with them in its full, yet they do not, altogether, make it day: still it is night till the sun appear.

How beautiful, and yet how simple, and as it were unconscious of its own beauty!

Ibid. p. 124.

You were running to destruction in the way of sin, and there was a voice, together with the Gospel preaching to your ear, that spake into your heart, and called you back

from that path of death to the way of holiness, which is the only way of life. He hath severed you from the mass of the profane world, and picked you out to be jewels for himself.

Oh how divine! Surely, nothing less than the Spirit of Christ could have inspired such thoughts in such language. Other divines—Donne and Jeremy Taylor for instance,—have converted their worldly gifts, and applied them to holy ends; but here the gifts themselves seem unearthly.

Ibid. p. 138.

As in religion, so in the course and practice of men's lives, the stream of sin runs from one age to another, and every age makes it greater, adding somewhat to what it receives, as rivers grow in their course by the accession of brooks that fall into them; and every man when he is born, falls like a drop into this main current of corruption, and so is carried down it, and this by reason of its strength, and his own nature, which willingly dissolves into it, and runs along with it.

In this single period we have religion, the spirit,—philosophy, the soul,—and poetry, the body and drapery united;—Plato glorified by St. Paul; and yet coming as unostentatiously as any speech from an innocent girl of fifteen.

Ibid. p. 158.

The chief point of obedience is believing; the proper obedience to truth is to give credit to it.

This is not quite so perspicuous and single-sensed as Archbishop Leighton's sentences in general are. This effect is occasioned by the omission of the word 'this,' or 'divine,' or the truth 'in Christ.' For truth in the ordinary and scientific sense is received

by a spontaneous, rather than chosen by a voluntary, act ; and the apprehension of the same (belief) supposes a position of congruity rather than an act of obedience. Far otherwise is it with the truth that is the object of Christian faith : and it is this truth of which Leighton is speaking. Belief indeed is a living part of this faith ; but only as long as it is a living part. In other words, belief is implied in faith ; but faith is not necessarily implied in belief. *The devils believe.*

Ibid. p. 166.

Hence learn that true conversion is not so slight a work as we commonly account it. It is not the outward change of some bad customs, which gains the name of a reformed man in the ordinary dialect ; it is new birth and being, and elsewhere called *a new creation*. *Though it be but a change in qualities*, yet it is such a one, and the qualities so far distant from what they before were, &c.

I dare not affirm that this is erroneously said ; but it is one of the comparatively few passages that are of service as reminding me that it is not the Scripture that I am reading. Not the qualities merely, but the root of the qualities is trans-created. How else could it be a birth,—a creation ?

Ibid. p. 170.

This natural life is compared, even by natural men, to the vainest things, and scarce find they things light enough to express it vain ; and as it is here called *grass*, so they compare the generations of men to the leaves of trees. * * * *Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower and is cut down.* Job xiv. 1, 2 Psalm xc. 12 ; xxxix. 4.

It is the fashion to decry scholastic distinctions as

useless subtleties, or mere phantoms—*entia logica, vel etiam verbalia solum*. And yet in order to secure a safe and Christian interpretation to these and numerous other passages of like phrase and import in the Old Testament, it is of highest concernment that we should distinguish the personicity or spirit, as the source and principle of personality, from the person itself as the particular product at any one period, and as that which cannot be evolved or sustained but by the co-agency of the system and circumstances in which the individuals are placed. In this latter sense it is that *man* is used in the Psalms, in Job, and elsewhere—and the term made synonymous with flesh. That which constitutes the spirit in man, both for others and itself, is the real man; and to this the elements and elementary powers contribute its bulk (*τὸ videri et tangi*) wholly, and its phenomenal form in part, both as co-efficients, and as conditions. Now as these are under a law of vanity and incessant change,—*τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ γινόμενα*,—so must all be, to the production and continuance of which they are indispensable. On this hangs the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, as an essential part of the doctrine of immortality;—on this the Scriptural (and only true and philosophical) sense of the soul, *psyche* or life, as resulting from the continual assurgency of the spirit through the body;—and on this the begetting of a new life, a regenerate soul, by the descent of the divine Spirit on the spirit of man. When the spirit by sanctification is fitted for an incorruptible body, then shall it be raised into a world of incorruption, and a celestial body shall burgeon forth thereto, the germ of which had been implanted by the redeeming and creative Word in this world. Truly hath it been said of the elect:—They fall asleep in earth, but awake in heaven. So

St. Paul expressly teaches : and as the passage (1. Cor. xv. 35—54,) was written for the express purpose of rectifying the notions of the converts concerning the Resurrection, all other passages in the New Testament must be interpreted in harmony with it. But John, likewise,—describing the same great event, as subsequent to, and contradistinguished from, the partial or millenary Resurrection—which (whether we are to understand the Apostle symbolically or literally) is to take place in the present world,—beholds *a new earth* and *a new heaven* as antecedent to, or coincident with, the appearance of the New Jerusalem,—that is, the state of glory, and the resurrection to life everlasting. The old earth and its heaven had passed away from the face of Him on the throne, at the moment that it gave up the dead. *Rev. xx.—xxi.*

Ibid. pp. 174-5.

But the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

And with respect to those learned men that apply the text to God, I remember not that this *abiding for ever* is used to express God's eternity in himself.

No ; nor is it here used for that purpose ; but yet I cannot doubt but that either the Word, ‘ *Ὁ Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ*, or the divine promises in and through the incarnate Word, with the gracious influences proceeding from him, are here meant—and not the written *ῥήματα* or Scriptures.

Ibid. p. 194.

If any one's head or tongue should grow apace, and all the rest stand at a stay, it would certainly make him a monster ; and they are no other that are knowing and discovering

Christians, and grow daily in that, but not at all in holiness of heart and life, which is the proper growth of the children of God.

Father in heaven, have mercy on me ! Christ, Lamb of God, have mercy on me ! Save me, Lord, or I perish ! Alas ! I am perishing.

Ibid. p. 200.

A well-furnished table may please a man, while he hath health and appetite ; but offer it to him in the height of a fever, how unpleasant it would be then ! Though never so richly decked, it is then not only useless, but hateful to him. But the kindness and love of God is then as seasonable and refreshing to him, as in health, and possibly more.

To the regenerate ;—but to the conscious sinner a source of terrors insupportable.

Ibid. p. 211.

These things hold likewise in the other stones of this building, chosen before time : all that should be of this building are fore-ordained in God's purpose, all written in that book beforehand, and then in due time they are chosen, by actual calling, according to that purpose, hewed out and severed by God's own hand from the quarry of corrupt nature ;—dead stones in themselves, as the rest, but made living by his bringing them to Christ, and so made truly *precious*, and accounted precious by him that hath made them so.

Though this is not-only true, but a most important truth, it would yet have been well to have obviated the apparent carnal consequences.

Ibid. p. 216.

All sacrifice is not taken away ; but it is changed from the offering of those things formerly in use, to spiritual sacri-

fices. Now these are every way preferable ; they are easier and cheaper to us, and yet more precious and acceptable to God.

Still understand,—to the regenerate. To others, they are not only not easy and cheap, but unpurchaseable and impossible too. O God have mercy upon me !

Ibid. p. 229.

Though I be beset on all hands, be accused by the Law, and mine own conscience, and by Satan, and have nothing to answer for myself ; yet here I will stay, for I am sure in him there is salvation, and no where else.

“Here I *will* stay.” But alas ! the poor sinner has forfeited the powers of willing ; miserable wishing is all he can command. O, the dreadful injury of an irreligious education ! To be taught our prayers, and the awful truths of religion, in the same tone in which we are taught the Latin Grammar,—and too often inspiring the same sensations of weariness and disgust !

Vol. II. p. 242.

And thus are reproaches mentioned amongst the sufferings of Christ in the Gospel, and not as the least ; the railings and mockings that were darted at him, and fixed to the Cross, are mentioned more than the very nails that fixed him. And (*Heb.* xii. 2,) the *shame* of the Cross, though he was above it, and despised it, yet that shame added much to the burden of it.

I understand Leighton thus : that though our Lord felt it not as *shame*, nor was wounded by the revilings of the people in the way of any correspondent resentment or sting, which yet we may be without blame, yet he suffered from the same as sin, and as

an addition to the guilt of his persecutors, which could not but aggravate the burden which he had taken on himself, as being sin in its most devilish form.

Ibid. p. 293.

This therefore is mainly to be studied, that the seat of humility be the heart. Although it will be seen in the carriage yet as little as it can * * *. And this I would recommend as a safe way: ever let thy thoughts concerning thyself be below what thou utterest; and what thou seest needful or fitting to say to thy own abasement, be not only content (which most are not) to be taken at thy word, and believed to be such by them that hear thee, but be desirous of it; and let that be the end of thy speech, to persuade them, and gain it of them, that they really take thee for as worthless a man as thou dost express thyself.

Alas! this is a most delicate and difficult subject: and the safest way, and the only safe general rule is the silence that accompanies the inward act of looking at the contrast in all that is of our own doing and impulse! So may praises be made their own antidote.

Vol. III. s. 1, p. 20.

They shall see God. What this is we cannot tell you, nor can you conceive it: but walk heavenwards in purity, and long to be there, where you shall know what it means: *for you shall know him as he is.*

We say; "Now I see the full meaning, force and beauty of a passage,—we see them through the words." Is not Christ the Word—the substantial, consubstantial Word, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, —not as our words, arbitrary; nor even as the words of Nature phenomenal merely? If even through the words a powerful and perspicuous author—(as in the

next to inspired Commentary of Archbishop Leighton, for whom God be praised !)—I identify myself with the excellent writer, and his thoughts become my thoughts : what must not the blessing be to be thus identified first with the Filial Word, and then with the Father in and through Him ?

Ibid. s. 5, p. 63.

In this elementary world, light being (as we hear,) the first visible, all things are seen by it, and it by itself. Thus is Christ, among spiritual things, in the elect world of his Church; all things are *made manifest by the light*, says the Apostle, Eph. v. 13, speaking of Christ as the following verse doth evidently testify. It is in his word that he shines, and makes it a directing and convincing light, to discover all things that concern his Church and himself, to be known by its own brightness. How impertinent then is that question so much tossed by the Romish Church, "How know you the Scriptures (say they) to be the word of God, without the testimony of the Church ?" I would ask one of them again, How they can know that it is daylight, except some light a candle to let them see it ? They are little versed in Scripture that know not that it is frequently called light; and they are senseless that know not that light is seen and known by itself. *If our Gospel be hid*, says the Apostle, *it is hid to them that perish* : the god of this world having blinded their minds against the light of the glorious Gospel, no wonder if such stand in need of a testimony. A blind man knows not that it is light at noon-day, but by report : but to those that have eyes, light is seen by itself.

On the true test of the Scriptures. Oh ! were it not for my manifold infirmities, whereby I am so all unlike the white-robed Leighton, I could almost conceit that my soul had been an emanation from his ! So many and so remarkable are the coincidences, and these in parts of his works that I could not have seen—and so uniform the congruity of the

whole. As I read, I seem to myself to be only thinking my own thoughts over again, now in the same and now in a different order.

Ibid. p. 68.

The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews calls him (Christ) *ἀπαύραμα*, the brightness of his Father's glory, and the character of his person, (i. 3.) And under these expressions lies that remarkable mystery of the Son's eternal relation to the Father, which is rather humbly to be adored, than boldly to be explained, either by God's perfect understanding of his own essence, or by any other notion.

Certainly not by a transfer of a notion, and this too a notion of a faculty itself but notional and limitary, to the Supreme Reality. But there are ideas which are of higher origin than the notions of the understanding, and by the irradiation of which the understanding itself becomes a human understanding. Of such *veritates verificæ* Leighton himself in other words speaks often. Surely, there must have been an intelligible propriety in the terms, *Logos*, Word, *Begotten before all creation*,—an adequate idea or icon, or the Evangelists and Apostolic penmen would not have adopted them. They did not invent the terms; but took them and used them as they were taken and applied by Philo and both the Greek and Oriental sages. Nay, the precise and orthodox, yet frequent, use of these terms by Philo, and by the Jewish authors of that traditional wisdom,—degraded in after times, but which in its purest parts existed long before the Christian æra,—is the strongest extrinsic argument against the Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians, in proof that St. John must have meant to deceive his readers, if he did not use them in the known and received sense. To

a Materialist indeed, or to those who deny all knowledges not resolvable into notices from the five senses, these terms as applied to spiritual beings must appear inexplicable or senseless. But so must spirit. To me, (why do I say to me?) to Bull, to Waterland, to Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Athanasius, Augustine, the terms, Word and generation, have appeared admirably, yea, most awfully pregnant and appropriate;—but still as the language of those who know that they are placed with their backs to substances—and which therefore they can name only from the correspondent shadows—yet not (God forbid!) as if the substances were the same as the shadows;—which yet Leighton supposed in this his censure,—for if he did not, he then censures himself and a number of his most beautiful passages. These, and two or three other sentences,—slips of human infirmity,—are useful in reminding me that Leighton's works are not inspired Scripture.

Postscript. On a second consideration of this passage, and a revisal of my marginal animadversion—yet how dare I apply such a word to a passage written by a minister of Christ so clearly under the especial light of the divine grace as was Archbishop Leighton?—I am inclined to think that Leighton confined his censure to the attempts to “explain” the Trinity,—and this by “notions,”—and not to the assertion of the adorable acts implied in the terms both of the Evangelists and Apostles, and of the Church before as well as after Christ's ascension; nor to the assent of the pure reason to the truths, and more than assent to, the affirmation of the ideas.

Ibid. p. 73.

This fifth Sermon, excellent in parts, is yet on the whole the least excellent of Leighton's works,—and breathes less of either his own character as a man, or the character of his religious philosophy. The style too is in many places below Leighton's ordinary style—in some places even turbid, operose, and catechrestic ;—for example,—“ to trample on smilings with one foot and on frownings with the other.”

Ibid. s. 6, p. 77.

Leighton, I presume, was acquainted with the Hebrew Language, but he does not appear to have studied it much. His observation on the *heart*, as used in the Old Testament, shows that he did not know that the ancient Hebrews supposed the heart to be the seat of intellect, and therefore used it exactly as we use the head.

Ibid. s. 7, p. 104.

This seventh Sermon is admirable throughout, Leighton throughout. O what a contrast might be presented by publishing some discourse of some Court divine, (South, for instance,) preached under the same state of affairs, and printing the two in columns !

Ibid. s. 8, p. 107.

In all love three things are necessary ; some goodness in the object, either true and real, or apparent and seeming to be so ; for the soul, be it ever so evil, can affect nothing but which it takes in some way to be good.

This assertion in these words has been so often made, from Plato's times to ours, that even wise men

repeat it without perhaps much examination whether it be not equivocal—or rather (I suspect) true only in that sense in which it would amount to nothing—nothing to the purpose at least. This is to be regretted—for it is a mischievous equivoque, to make ‘good’ a synonyme of ‘pleasant,’ or even the *genus* of which pleasure is a *species*. It is a grievous mistake to say, that bad men seek pleasure because it is good. No! like children they call it good because it is pleasant. Even the useful must derive its meaning from the good, not *vice versa*.

Postscript. The lines in p. 107, noted by me, are one of a myriad instances to prove how rash it is to quote single sentences or assertions from the correctest writers, without collating them with the known system or express convictions of the author. It would be easy to cite fifty passages from Archbishop Leighton’s works in direct contradiction to the sentence in question—which he had learnt in the schools when a lad, and afterwards had heard and met with so often that he was not aware that he had never sifted its real purport. This eighth Sermon is another most admirable discourse.

Ibid. s. 9, p. 12.

The reasonable creature, it is true, hath more liberty in its actions, freely choosing one thing and rejecting another; yet it cannot be denied, that in acting of that liberty, their choice and refusal *follow the sway of their nature and condition.

* I would fain substitute for ‘follow,’ the words ‘are most often determined, and always affected, by.’ I do not deny that the will follows the nature; but then the nature itself is a will.

Ibid.

As the angels and glorified souls (their nature being perfectly holy and unalterably such), they cannot sin; they can delight in nothing but obeying and praising that God, in the enjoyment of whom their happiness consisteth.

If angels be other than spirits made perfect, or, as Leighton writes, "glorified souls,"—the "unalterable by nature" seems to me rashly asserted.

Ibid.

The mind, *φρόνημα*. Some render it the prudence or wisdom of the flesh. Here you have it, the carnal mind; but the word signifies, indeed, an act of the mind, rather than either the faculty itself, or the habit of prudence in it, so as it discovers what is the frame of both those.

I doubt *Φρόνημα* signifies an act: and so far I agree with Leighton. But *φρόνημα σαρκός* is 'the flesh,' (that is, the natural man,) in the act or habitude of minding—but those acts, taken collectively, are the faculty—the understanding.

How often have I found reason to regret, that Leighton had not clearly made out to himself the diversity of reason and the understanding!

Ibid. s. 15, p. 196.

A narrow enthralled heart, fettered with the love of lower things, and cleaving to some particular sins, or but some one, and that secret, may keep foot a while in the way of God's commandments, in some steps of them; but it must give up quickly, is not able to run on to the end of the goal.

One of the blessed privileges of the spiritual man (and such Leighton was), is a piercing insight into the

diseases of which he himself is clear. Ἐλέησον Κύριε !

Ibid. s. 16, p. 204.

Know you not that the redeemed of Christ and He are one? They live one life, Christ lives in them, and if *any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his*, as the Apostle declares in this chapter. So then this we are plainly to tell you, and consider it; you that will not let go your sins to lay hold on Christ, have as yet no share in him.

But on the other side: the truth is, that when souls are once set upon this search, they commonly wind the notion too high, and subtilise too much in the dispute, and so entangle and perplex themselves, and drive themselves further off from that comfort that they are seeking after; such measures and marks they set to themselves for their rule and standard; and unless they find those without all controversy in themselves, they will not believe that they have an interest in Christ, and this blessed and safe estate in him.

To such I would only say, Are you in a willing league with any known sin? &c.

An admirable antidote for such as, too sober and sincere to pass off feverous sensations for spiritualities, have been perplexed by Wesley's assertions—that a certainty of having been elected is an indispensable mark of election. Whitfield's ultra-Calvinism is Gospel gentleness and Pauline sobriety compared with Wesley's Arminianism in the outset of his career. But the main and most noticeable difference between Leighton and the modern Methodists is to be found in the uniform selfishness of the latter. Not "Do you wish to love God?" "Do you love your neighbour?" "Do you think, 'O how dear and lovely must Christ be!'"—but—"Are you certain that Christ has saved *you*; that he died for *you—you*—

you—yourself?” on to the end of the chapter. This is Wesley’s doctrine.

LECTURE IX. vol. iv. p. 96.

For that this was his fixed purpose, Lucretius not only vows, but also boasts of it, and loads him (Epicurus) with ill-advised praises, for endeavouring through the whole course of his philosophy to free the minds of men from all the bonds and ties of religion.

But surely in this passage *religio* must be rendered superstition, the most effectual means for the removal of which Epicurus supposed himself to have found in the exclusion of the *gods many and lords many*, from their imagined agency in all the *phænomena* of nature and the events of history, substituting for these the belief in fixed laws, having in themselves their evidence and necessity. On this account, in this passage at least, Lucretius praises his master.

Ibid. p. 105.

They always seemed to me to act a very ridiculous part who contend, that the effect of the divine decree is absolutely irreconcilable with human liberty; because the natural and necessary liberty of a rational creature is to act or choose from a rational motive, or spontaneously, and of purpose: but who sees not, that, on the supposition of the most absolute decree, this liberty is not taken away, but rather established and confirmed? For the decree is, *that such an one shall make choice of, or do some particular thing freely. And whoever pretends to deny, that whatever is done or chosen, whether good or indifferent, is so done or chosen, or, at least, may be so, espouses an absurdity.*

I fear, I fear, that this is a sophism not worthy of Archbishop Leighton. It seems to me tantamount to saying—“I force that man to do so or so without

my forcing him." But however that may be, the following sentences are more precious than diamonds. They are divine.

Ibid. l. 11, p. 113.

For that this world, compounded of so many and such heterogeneous parts, should proceed, by way of natural and necessary emanation, from that one first, present, and most simple nature, nobody, I imagine, could believe, or in the least suspect * * *. But if he produced all these things freely, * * how much more consistent is it to believe, that this was done in time, than to imagine it was from eternity!

It is inconceivable how any thing can be created in time; and production is incompatible with interspace.

Ibid. l. 15, p. 152.

The Platonists divide the world into two, the sensible and intellectual world * * *. According to this hypothesis, those parables and metaphors, which are often taken from natural things to illustrate such as are divine, will not be similitudes taken entirely at pleasure; but are often, in a great measure, founded in nature, and the things themselves.

I have asserted the same thing, and more fully shown wherein the difference consists of symbolic and metaphorical, in my first Lay Sermon; and the substantial correspondence of the genuine Platonic doctrine and logic with those of Lord Bacon, in my Essays on Method, in the Friend. *

Ibid. l. 19, p. 201.

Even the philosophers give their testimony to this truth, and their sentiments on the subject are not altogether to be rejected; for they almost unanimously are agreed, that

* *Statesman's Manual*, p. 230. 2nd edit. Friend, III. 3rd edit.—Ed.

felicity, so far as it can be enjoyed in this life, consists solely, or at least principally, in virtue: but as to their assertion, that this virtue is perfect in a perfect life, it is rather expressing what were to be wished, than describing things as they are.

And why are the philosophers to be judged according to a different rule? On what ground can it be asserted that the Stoics believed in the actual existence of their God-like perfection in any individual? or that they meant more than this—"To no man can the name of the Wise be given in its absolute sense, who is not perfect even as his Father in heaven is perfect!"

Ibid. l. 21, p. 225.

In like manner, if we suppose God to be the first of all beings, we must, unavoidably, therefrom conclude his unity. As to the ineffable Trinity subsisting in this Unity, a mystery discovered only by the Sacred Scriptures, especially in the New Testament, where it is more clearly revealed than in the Old, let others boldly pry into it, if they please, while we receive it with our humble faith, and think it sufficient for us to admire and adore.

But surely it having been revealed to us, we may venture to say,—that a positive unity, so far from excluding, implies plurality, and that the Godhead is a fulness, πλήρωμα.

Ibid. l. 24, p. 245.

Ask yourselves, therefore, *what you would be at*, and with what dispositions you come to this most sacred table?

In an age of colloquial idioms, when to write in a loose slang had become a mark of loyalty, this is the only L'Estrange vulgarism I have met with in Leighton.

Ibid. Exhortation to the Students, p. 252.

Study to acquire such a philosophy as is not barren and babbling, but solid and true; not such a one as floats upon the surface of endless verbal controversies, but one that enters into the nature of things; for he spoke good sense that said, "The philosophy of the Greeks was a mere jargon, and noise of words."

If so, then so is all philosophy: for what system is there, the elements and outlines of which are not to be found in the Greek schools? Here Leighton followed too incautiously the Fathers.

NOTES ON SHERLOCK'S VINDICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.*

—♦—

Sect. I. p. 3.

Some new philosophers will tell you that the notion of a spirit or an immaterial substance is a contradiction; for by substance they understand nothing but matter, and then an immaterial substance is immaterial matter, that is, matter and no matter, which is a contradiction; but yet this does not prove an immaterial substance to be a contradiction, unless they could first prove that there is no substance but matter; and that they cannot conceive any other substance but matter, does not prove that there is no other.

Certainly not: but if not only they, but Dr. Sherlock himself and all mankind, are incapable of

* A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and ever Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God, occasioned by the Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius, and the Brief History of the Unitarians, or Socinians, and containing an Answer to both. By Wm. Sherlock. London, 8vo. 1690.

attaching any sense to the term substance, but that of matter,—then for us it would be a contradiction, or a groundless assertion. Thus: By ‘substance’ I do not mean the only notion we can attach to the word; but a somewhat, I know not what, may, for aught I know, not be contradictory to spirit! Why should we use the equivocal word, ‘substance’ (after all but an *ens logicum*), instead of the definite term ‘self-subsistent’? We are equally conscious of mind, and of that which we call ‘body;’ and the only possible philosophical questions are these three:—
 1. Are they co-ordinate as agent and re-agent;—
 2. Or is the one subordinate to the other, as effect to cause, and which is the cause or ground, which the effect or product;—3. Or are they co-ordinate, but not inter-dependent, that is, *per harmoniam præstabilitam*.

Ibid. p. 4.

Now so far as we understand the nature of any being, we can certainly tell what is contrary and contradictory to its nature; as that accidents should subsist without *their* subject, &c.

That accidents should subsist (rather, exist) without a subject, may be a contradiction, but not that they exist without this or that subject. The words ‘their subject’ are a *petitio principii*.

Ibid.

These and such like are the manifest absurdities and contradictions of Transubstantiation; and we know that they are so, because we know the nature of a body, &c.

Indeed! Were I either Romanist or Unitarian, I should desire no better than the admission of body

having an *esse* not in the *percipi*, and really subsisting (αὐτὸ τὸ χρῆμα), as the supporter of its accidents. At all events, the Romanist, declaring the accidents to be those ordinarily impressed on the senses (τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ αἰσθητά) by bread and wine, does at the same time declare the flesh and blood not to be the φαινόμενα καὶ αἰσθητά so called, but the νοούμενα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χρήματα. There is therefore no contradiction in the terms, however reasonless the doctrine may be, and however unnecessary the interpretation on which it is pretended. I confess, had I been in Luther's place, I would not have rested so much of my quarrel with the Papists on this point; nor can I agree with our Arminian divines in their ridicule of Transubstantiation. The most rational doctrine is perhaps, for some purposes, at least, the *rem credimus, modum nescimus*; next to that, the doctrine of the Sacramentaries, that it is *signum sub rei nomine*, as when we call a portrait of Caius, Caius. But of all the remainder, Impanation, Consubstantiation, and the like, I confess that I should prefer the Transubstantiation of the Pontifical doctors.

Ibid. p. 6.

The proof of this comes to this one point, that we may have sufficient evidence of the being of a thing whose nature we cannot conceive and comprehend: he who will not own this, contradicts the sense and experience of mankind; and he who confesses this, and yet rejects the belief of that which he has good evidence for, merely because he cannot conceive it, is a very absurd and senseless infidel.

Here again, though a zealous believer of the truth asserted, I must object to the Bishop's logic. None but the weakest men have objected to the Tri-unity merely because the *modus* is above their compre-

hension : for so is the influence of thought on muscular motion ; so is life itself ; so in short is every first truth of necessity ; for to comprehend a thing, is to know its antecedent and consequent. But they affirm that it is against their reason. Besides, there seems an equivocation in the use of 'comprehend' and 'conceive' in the same meaning. When a man tells me, that his will can lift his arm, I conceive his meaning ; though I do not comprehend the fact, I understand *him*. But the Socinians say ; —“ We do not understand *you*. We cannot attach to the word. 'God,' more than three possible meanings ; either, 1. A person, or self-conscious being ;—2. Or a thing ;—3. Or a quality, property, or attribute. If you take the first, then you admit the contradiction ; if either of the latter two, you have not three Persons and one God, but three Persons having equal shares in one thing, or three with the same attributes, that is, three Gods.” Sherlock does not meet this.

Let me repeat the difficulty, if possible, more clearly. The argument of the philosophic Unitarians, as Wissowatius, who, mistaken as they were, are not to be confounded with their degenerate successors, the Priestleyans and Belshamites, may be thus expressed. “By the term, God, we can only conceive you to suppose one or other of three meanings. 1. Either you understand by it a person, in the common sense of an intelligent or self-conscious being ;—or, 2, a thing with its qualities and properties ;—or, 3, certain powers and attributes comprised under the word nature. If we suppose the first, the contradiction is manifest, and you yourselves admit it, and therefore forbid us so to interpret your words. For if by God you mean Person, then three Persons and one God, would be

the same as three Persons and one Person. If we take the second as your meaning, as an infinite thing is an absurdity, we have three finite Gods, like Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, who shared the universe between them. If the latter, we have three Persons with the same attributes;—and if a Person with infinite attributes be what we mean by God, then we have either three Gods, or involve the contradiction above mentioned. It is unphilosophic, by admission of all philosophers, they add, to multiply causes beyond the necessity. Now if there are three Persons of infinite and the same attributes, dismiss two, and you lose nothing but a numerical phantom.”

The answer to this must commence by a denial of the premisses *in toto* : and this both Bull and Waterland have done most successfully. But I very much doubt, whether Sherlock on his principles could have evaded the Unitarian logic. In fact it is scarcely possible to acquit him altogether of a *quasi-Tritheism*.

Sect. II. p. 13.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord;—

(That is, by especial revelation.)

So are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say, There are three Gods, or three Lords.

That is, by the religion contained in, and given in accompaniment with, the universal reason, *the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

Ibid. p. 14.

This Creed (Athanasian) does not pretend to explain how there are three Persons, each of which is God, and yet but One God, (of which more hereafter,) but only asserts the thing, that thus it is, and thus it must be if we believe a Trinity in Unity; which should make all men, who would be thought neither Arians nor Socinians, more cautious how they express the least dislike of the Athanasian Creed, which must either argue, that they condemn it, before they understand it, or that they have some secret dislike to the doctrine of the Trinity.

The dislike commonly felt is not of the doctrine of the Trinity, but of the positive anathematic assertion of the everlasting perdition of all and of each who doubt the same;—an assertion deduced from Scripture only by a train of captious consequences, and equivocations. Thus, A.: “I honour and admire Caius for his great learning.” B.: “The knowledge of the Sanscrit is an important article in Caius’s learning.” A.: “I have been often in his company, and have found no reason for believing this.” B.: “Oh then you deny his learning, are envious, and Caius’s enemy.” A.: “God forbid! I love and admire him. I know him for a transcendant linguist in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and modern European languages;—and with or without the Sanscrit, I look up to him, and rely on his erudition in all cases, in which I am concerned. And it is this perfect trust, this unfeigned respect, that is the appointed criterion of Caius’s friends and disciples, and not their full acquaintance with each and all particulars of his superiority.” Thus without Christ, or in any other power but that of Christ, and (subjectively) of faith in Christ, no man can be saved; but does it follow, that no man can have Christian faith who is ignorant

or erroneous as to any one point of Christian theology? Will a soul be condemned to everlasting perdition for want of logical *acumen* in the perception of consequences?—If he verily embrace Christ as his Redeemer, and unfeignedly feel in himself the necessity of Redemption, he implicitly holds the Divinity of Christ, whatever from want or defect of logic may be his notion *explicite*.

Ibid. p. 18.

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal and co-equal.

And yet this we must acknowledge to be true, if we acknowledge all three Persons to be eternal, for in eternity there can be no *afore* or *after* other.

It must, however, be considered as a serious defect in a Creed, if excluding subordination, without mentioning any particular form, it gives no hint of any other form in which it admits it. The only *minus* admitted by the Athanasian Creed is the inferiority of Christ's Humanity to the Divinity generally; but both Scripture and the Nicene Creed teach a subordination of the Son to the Father, independent of the Incarnation of the Son. Now this is not inserted, and therefore the denial in the assertion *none is greater or less than another*, is universal, and a plain contradiction of Christ speaking of Himself as the co-eternal Son; *My Father is greater than I*. Speaking of himself as the co-eternal Son, I say;—for how superfluous would it have been, a truism how unworthy of our Lord, to have said in effect, that “a creature is less than God!” And after all, Creeds assuredly are not to be imposed *ad libitum*—a new Creed, or at least a new form and choice of articles and expressions, at the pleasure of individuals. Now where is the authority of the Athanasian Creed?

In what consists its necessity? If it be the same as the Nicene, why not be content with the Nicene? If it differs, how dare we retain both? * If the Athanasian does not say more or different, but only differs by omission of a necessary article, then to impose it, is as absurd as to force a mutilated copy on one who has already the perfect original. Lastly, it is not enough that an abstract contains nothing which may not by a chain of consequences be deduced from the books of the Evangelists and Apostles, in order for it to be a Creed for the whole Christian Church. For a Creed is or ought to be a *synthesis* of those primary fundamental truths that are, as it were, the starting-post, from which the Christian must commence his progression. The full-grown Christian needs no other Creed than the Scriptures themselves. Highly valuable is the Nicene Creed; but it has its chief value as an historical document, proving that the same texts in Scripture received the same interpretation, while the Greek was a living language, as now.

Sect. III. p. 23.

If what he says is true: *He that errs in a question of faith, after having used reasonable diligence to be rightly informed, is in no fault at all*; how comes an atheist, or an infidel, a Turk, or a Jew, to be in any fault? Does our author think that no atheist or infidel, no unbelieving Jew or heathen, ever used reasonable diligence to be rightly informed? * * * * If you say, he confines this to such points as have always been controverted in the churches of God, I desire to know a reason why he thus confines it? For does not his reason equally extend to the Christian Faith itself,

* The third General Council, that at Ephesus in 431, decreed "that it should not be lawful for any man to publish or compose another Faith or Creed than that which was defined by the Nicene Council."—*Ed.*

as to those points which have been controverted in Christian Churches?

And the Notary might ask in his turn: "Do you believe that the Christians either of the Greek or of the Western Church will be damned, according as the truth may be respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost? or that either the Sacramentary or the Lutheran? or again, the Consubstantiationist, or the Transubstantiationist? If not, why do you stop here? Whence this sudden palsy in the limbs of your charity? Again, does this eternal damnation of the individual depend on the supposed importance of the article denied? Or on the moral state of the individual, on the inward source of this denial? And lastly, who authorised either you, or the pseudo-Athanasius, to interpret Catholic faith by belief, arising out of the apparent predominance of the grounds for, over those against, the truth of the positions asserted; much more, by belief as a mere passive acquiescence of the understanding? Were all damned who died during the period when *totus fere mundus factus est Arianus*, as one of the Fathers admits? Alas! alas! how long will it be ere Christians take the plain middle road between intolerance and indifference, by adopting the literal sense and Scriptural import of heresy, that is, wilful error, or belief originating in some perversion of the will; and of heretics, (for such they are, nay, even orthodox heretics), that is, men wilfully unconscious of their own wilfulness, in their limpet-like adhesion to a favourite tenet?

Ibid. p. 26.

All Christians must confess, that there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved, but only the name of Christ.

Now this is a most awful question, on which depends whether Christ was more than Socrates; for to bring God from heaven to re-proclaim the Ten Commandments, is *too too* ridiculous. Need I say I incline to Sherlock? But yet I cannot give to faith the meaning he does, though I give it all, and more than all, the power. But if that Name, as power, saved the Jewish Church before they knew the Name, as name, how much more now, if only the will be not guiltily averse? Any miracle does in kind as truly bring God from heaven as the Incarnation, which the Socinians wholly forget, as in other points. They receive without scruple what they have learned without examination, and then transfer to the first article which they do look into, all the difficulties that belong equally to the former: as the Simonidean doubts concerning God to the Trinity, and the like.

Ibid. p. 27.

The Eclectic Neo-Platonists (Sallustius and others,) justified their Polytheism on much the same pretext as is in fact involved in the language of this page; πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐν δὲ μιᾷ θεότητι. This indeed seems to me decisive in favour of Waterland's scheme against this of Sherlock's;—namely, that in the latter we find no sufficient reason why in the nature of things this intermutual consciousness might not be possessed by thirty instead of three. It seems a strange confounding ἐτέρων γενέων to answer, "True; but the latter only happens to be the fact!"—just

as if we were speaking of the number of persons in the Privy Council.

Ibid. p. 28.

Notes.—By keeping this faith *whole and undefiled*, must be meant that a man should believe and profess it without adding to it or taking from it. * * * First, for adding. What if an honest plain man, because he is a Christian and a Protestant, should think it necessary to add this article to the Athanasian Creed;—*I believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be a divine, infallible and complete rule both for faith and manners.* I hope no Protestant would think a man damned for such addition; and if so, then this Creed of Athanasius is at least an unnecessary rule of faith.

Answer. That is to say, it is an addition to the Catholic Faith to own the Scriptures to be the rule of faith; as if it were an addition to the laws of England to own the original records of them in the Tower.

This Notary manages his cause most weakly, and Sherlock *fibs* him like a scientific pugilist. But he himself exposes weak parts, as in p. 27. The objection to the Athanasian Creed urged by better men than the Notary, yea, by divines not less orthodox than Sherlock himself, is this: not that this Creed adds to the Scriptures, but that it adds to the original *Symbolum Fidei*, the *Regula*, the *Canon*, by which, according to the greater number of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers, the books of the New Testament were themselves tried and determined to be Scripture. Now this *Symbolum* was to bring together all that must be believed, even by the babes in faith, or to what purpose was it made? Now, say they, the Nicene Creed is really nothing more than a verbal explication of the common Creed, but the clause in the Athanasian (*which faith, &c.*), however fairly deduced from Scripture, is not contained in the Creed, or

selection of certain articles of Faith from the Scriptures, or not at least from those preachings and narrations, of which the New Testament Scriptures are the repository. Might not a Papist plead equally in support of the Creed of Pope Pius: "The new articles are deduced from Scripture; that is, in our opinion, and that most expressly in our Lord's several and solemn addresses to St. Peter." So again Sherlock's answer to this paragraph from the Notes is evasive,—for it is very possible, nay, it is, and has been the case, that a man may believe in the facts and doctrines contained in the New Testament, and yet not believe the Holy Scripture to be either divine, infallible, or complete.

Sect. IV. p. 50.

We know not what the substance of an infinite mind is, nor how such substances as have no parts or extension can touch each other, or be thus externally united; but we know the unity of a mind or spirit reaches as far as its self-consciousness does, for that is one spirit, which knows and feels itself, and its own thoughts and motions, and if we mean this by *circumincession*, three persons thus intimate to each other are numerically one.

The question still returns; have these three infinite minds, at once self-conscious and conscious of each other's consciousness, always the very same thoughts? If so, this mutual consciousness is unmeaning, or derivative; and the three do not cease to be three because they are three sames. If not, then there is Tritheism evidently.

Ibid. p. 64.

St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. ii. 10. *That the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.* So that the Holy Spirit knows all that is in God, even his most deep and secret

counsels, which is an argument that he is very intimate with him ; but this is not all : it is the manner of knowing, which must prove this consciousness of which I speak : and that the Apostle adds in the next verse, that the Spirit of God knows all that is in God, just as the spirit of a man knows all that is in man : that is, not by external revelation or communication of this knowledge, but by self-consciousness, by an internal sensation, which is owing to an essential unity. *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him ; even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.*

It would be interesting, if it were feasible, to point out the epoch at which the text mode of arguing in polemic controversy became predominant ; I mean by single texts without any modification by the context. I suspect that it commenced, or rather that it first became the fashion, under the Dort or systematic theologians, and during the so-called Quinquarticular Controversy. This quotation from St. Paul is a striking instance :—for St. Paul is speaking of the holy spirit of which true spiritual Christians are partakers, and by which or in which those Christians are enabled to search all things, even the deep things of God. No person is here spoken of, but reference is made to the philosophic principle, that can only act immediately, that is, interpenetratively, as two globules of quicksilver, and co-adunatively. Now, perceiving and knowing were considered as immediate acts relatively to the objects perceived and known :—*ergo the principium sciendi must be one (that is, homogeneous or consubstantial) with the principium essendi quoad objectum cognitum.* In order therefore for a man to understand, or even to know of, God, he must have a god-like spirit communicated to him, wherewith, as with an inward eye, which is both eye and light, he sees the spiritual

truths. Now I have no objection to his calling this spirit a 'person,' if only the term 'person' be so understood as to permit of its being partaken of by all spiritual creatures, as light and the power of vision are partaken of by all seeing ones. But it is too evident that Sherlock supposes the Father, as Father, to possess a spirit, that is, an intellective faculty, by which he knows the Spirit, that is, the third co-equal Person; and that this Spirit, the Person, has a spirit, that is, an intellective faculty, by which he knows the Father; and the *Logos* in like manner relatively to both. So too, the Father has a *logos* with which he distinguishes the *Logos*;—and the *Logos* has a *logos*, and so on: that is to say, there are three several though not severed triune Gods, each being the same position three times *realiter positum*, as three guineas from the same mint, supposing them to differ no more than they appear to us to differ;—but whether a difference wholly and exclusively numerical is a conceivable notion, except under the predicament of space and time; whether it be not absurd to affirm it, where interspace and interval cannot be affirmed without absurdity—this is the question; or rather it is no question.

Ibid. p. 68.

Nor do we divide the substance, but unite these three Persons in one numerical essence: for we know nothing of the unity of the mind, but self-consciousness, as I showed before; and therefore as the self-consciousness of every Person to itself makes them distinct Persons, so the mutual consciousness of all three divine Persons to each other makes them all but one infinite God: as far as consciousness reaches, so far the unity of a spirit extends, for we know no other unity of a mind or spirit, but consciousness.

But this contradicts the preceding paragraph, in

which the Father is self-conscious that he is the Father and not the Son, and the Son that he is not the Father, and that the Father is not he. Now how can the Son's being conscious that the Father is conscious that he is not the Son, constitute a numerical unity? And wherein can such a consciousness as that attributed to the Son differ from absolute certainty? Is not God conscious of every thought of man;—and would Sherlock allow me to deduce the unity of the divine consciousness with the human? Sherlock's is doubtless a very plain and intelligible account of three Gods in the most absolute intimacy with each other, so that they are all as one; but by no means of three persons that are one God. I do not wonder that Waterland and the other followers of Bull were alarmed.

Ibid. p. 72.

Even among men it is only knowledge that is power. Human power, and human knowledge, as that signifies a knowledge how to do anything, are commensurate; whatever human skill extends to, human power can effect: nay, every man can do what he knows how to do, if he has proper instruments and materials to do it with.

This proves that perfect knowledge supposes perfect power: and that they are one and the same. "If he have proper instruments:"—does not this show that the means are supposed co-present with the knowledge, not the same with it?

Ibid.

For it is nothing but thought which moves our bodies, and all the members of them, which are the immediate instruments of all human force and power: excepting mechanical motions which do not depend upon our wills, such as the

motion of the heart, the circulation of the blood, the concoction of our meat and the like. All voluntary motions are not only directed but caused by thought : and so indeed it must be, or there could be no motion in the world ; for matter cannot move itself, and therefore some mind must be the first mover, which makes it very plain, that infinite truth and wisdom is infinite and almighty power.

Even this, though not ill-conceived, is inaccurately expressed.

Ibid. p. 81.

There is no contradiction that three infinite minds should be absolutely perfect in wisdom, goodness, justice and power ; for these are perfections which may be in more than one, as three men may all know the same things, and be equally just and good : but three such minds cannot be absolutely perfect without being mutually conscious to each other, as they are to themselves.

Will any man in his senses affirm, that my knowledge is increased by saying "all" three times following? Is it not mere repetition in time? If the Son has thoughts which the Father, as the Father, could not have but for his interpenetration of the Son's consciousness, then I can understand it ; but then these are not three Absolutes, but three modes of perfection constituting one Absolute ; and by what right Sherlock could call the one Father, more than the other, I cannot see.

Ibid. p. 88.

And yet if we consider these three divine Persons as containing each other in themselves, and essentially one by a mutual consciousness, this pretended contradiction vanishes : for then the Father is the one true God, because the Father has the Son and the Holy Spirit in himself : and the Son

may be called the one true God, because the Son has the Father and the Holy Ghost in himself, &c.

Nay, this is to my understanding three Gods, and Sherlock seems to have brought in the material phantom of a thing or substance.

Ibid. p. 97.

But if these three distinct Persons are not separated, but essentially united unto one, each of them may be God, and all three but one God: for if these three Persons,—each of whom *μοναδικῶς*, as it is in the Creed, singly by himself, not separately from the other divine Persons, is God and Lord, are essentially united into one, there can be but one God and one Lord; and how each of these persons is God, and all of them but one God, by their mutual consciousness, I have already explained.

—“That is,—if the three Persons are not three;”—so might the Arian answer, unless Sherlock had shown the difference of separate and distinct relatively to mind. For what other separation can be conceived in mind but distinction? Distinction may be joined with imperfection, as ignorance, or forgetfulness; and so it is in men:—and if this be called separation by a metaphor from bodies, then the conclusion would be that in the Supreme Mind there is distinction without imperfection; and then the question is, whence comes plurality of Persons? Can it be conceived other than as the result of imperfection, that is, finiteness?

Ibid. p. 98.

Thus each Divine Person is God, and all of them but the same one God; as I explained it before.

Oh no! asserted it.

Ibid. pp. 98-9.

This one supreme God is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, a Trinity in Unity, three Persons and one God. Now Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with all their divine attributes and perfections (excepting their personal properties, which the Schools call the *modi subsistendi*, that one is the Father, the other the Son, and the other the Holy Ghost, which cannot be communicated to each other) are whole and entire in each Person by a mutual consciousness; each feels the other Persons in himself, all their essential wisdom, power, goodness, justice, as he feels himself, and this makes them essentially one, as I have proved at large.

Will not the Arian object, 'You admit the *modus subsistendi* to be a divine perfection, and you affirm that it is incommunicable. Does it not follow therefore, that there are perfections which the All-perfect does not possess?' This would not apply to Bishop Bull or Waterland.

Sect. V. p. 102.

St. Austin in his sixth book of the Trinity takes notice of a common argument used by the orthodox fathers against the Arians, to prove the co-eternity of the Son with the Father, that if the Son be the Wisdom and Power of God, as St. Paul teaches (1 Cor. i.) and God was never without his Wisdom and Power, the Son must be co-eternal with the Father. * * * But this acute father discovers a great inconvenience in this argument, for it forces us to say that the Father is not wise, but by that Wisdom which he begot, not being himself Wisdom as the Father: and then we must consider whether the Son himself, as he is God of God, and Light of Light, may be said to be Wisdom of Wisdom, if God the Father be not Wisdom, but only begets Wisdom.

The proper answer to Augustine is, that the Son and Holy Ghost are necessary and essential, not

contingent : and that *his* argument has a still greater inconvenience, as shown in note p. 98.

Ibid. pp. 110-113.

But what makes St. Gregory dispute thus nicely, and oppose the common and ordinary forms of speech? Did he in good earnest believe that there is but one man in the world? No, no! he acknowledged as many men as we do; a great multitude who had the same human nature, and that every one who had a human nature was an individual man, distinguished and divided from all other individuals of the same nature. What makes him so zealous then against saying, that Peter, James and John are three men? Only this; that he says man is the name of nature, and therefore to say there are three men is the same as to say, there are three human natures of a different kind; for if there are three human natures, they must differ from each other, or they cannot be three; and so you deny Peter, James, and John to be *δμοούσιοι*, or of the same nature; and for the same reason we must say that though the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, yet there are not three Gods, but *μία θεότης*, one Godhead and Divinity.

Sherlock struggles in vain, in my opinion at least, to clear these Fathers of egregious logomachy, whatever may have been the soundness of their faith, spite of the quibbles by which they endeavoured to evince its rationality. The very change of the terms is suspicious. 'Yes! we might say three Gods' (it would be answered,) 'as we say and ought to say three men: for man and humanity, *ἄνθρωπος* and *ἀνθρωπότης* are not the same terms;—so if the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, there would be three Gods, though not *τρεῖς θεότητες*,—that is, three Godheads.'

Ibid. pp. 115-16.

Gregory Nyssen tells us that *θεός* is *θεατής* and *ἐφορος*, the inspector and governor of the world, that is, it is a name of energy, operation and power ; and if this virtue, energy, and operation be the very same in all the Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, then they are but one God, but one power and energy. * * * The Father does nothing by himself, nor the Son by himself, nor the Holy Ghost by himself; but the whole energy and operation of the Deity relating to creatures begins with the Father, passes to the Son, and from Father and Son to the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit does not act anything separately; there are not three distinct operations, as there are three Persons, ἀλλὰ μία τις γίνεται ἀγαθοῦ βουλήματος κίνησις καὶ διακόσμησις ;—but one motion and disposition of the good will, which passes through the whole Trinity from Father to Son, and to the Holy Ghost, and this is done ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀδιαφένως, without any distance of time, or propagating the motion from one to the other, but by one thought, as it is in one numerical mind and spirit, and therefore, though they are three Persons, they are but one numerical power and energy.

But this is either Tritheism or Sabellianism ; it is hard to say which. Either the βούλημα subsists in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and not merely passes through them, and then there would be three numerical βουλήματα as well as three numerical Persons : *ergo*, τρεῖς θεοὶ ἢ θεαταί (according to Gregory Nyssen's shallow and disprovable etymology), which would be Tritheism : or ἐν τῷ γίνεται βούλημα, and then the Son and Holy Ghost are but terms of relation, which is Sabellianism. But in fact this Gregory and the others were Tritheists in the mode of their conception, though they did not wish to be so, and refused even to believe themselves such.

Gregory Nyssen, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus and Damascen were charged with 'a kind of Tritheism'

by Petavius and Dr. Cudworth, who, according to Sherlock, have 'mistaken their meaning.' See pp. 106-9, of this 'Vindication.'

Ibid. p. 117.

For I leave any man to judge, whether this *μία κίνησις βουλήματος*, this one single motion of will, which is in the same instant in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, can signify anything else but a mutual consciousness, which makes them numerically one, and as intimate to each other, as every man is to himself, as I have already explained it.

Is not God conscious to all my thoughts, though I am not conscious of God's? Would Sherlock endure that I should infer: *ergo*, God is numerically one with me, though I am not numerically one with God? I have never seen, but greatly wish to see, Waterland's controversial tracts against Sherlock. Again: according to Sherlock's conception, it would seem to follow that we ought to make a triad of triads, or an ennead.

1. Father—Son—Holy Ghost.
2. Son—Father—Holy Ghost.
3. Holy Ghost—Son—Father.

Else there is an *x* in the Father which is not in the Son, a *y* in the Son which is not in the Father, and a *z* in the Holy Ghost which is in neither: that is, each by himself is not total God.

Ibid. p. 120.

But however he might be mistaken in his philosophy, he was not in his divinity; for he asserts a numerical unity of the divine nature, not a mere specific unity, which is nothing but a logical notion, nor a collective unity, which is nothing

but a company who are naturally many: but a true subsisting numerical unity of nature; and if the difficulty of explaining this, and his zeal to defend it, forced him upon some unintelligible niceties, to prove that the same numerical human nature too is but one in all men, it is hard to charge him with teaching, that there are three independent and co-ordinate Gods, because we think he has not proved that Peter, James, and John, are but one man. This will make very foul work with the Fathers, if we charge them with all those erroneous conceits about the Trinity, which we can fancy in their inconvenient ways of explaining that venerable mystery, especially when they compare that mysterious unity with any natural unions.

So that after all this obscuration of the obscure, Sherlock ends by fairly throwing up his briefs, and yet calls out, 'Not guilty! *Victoria!*' And what is this but to say: These Fathers did indeed involve Tritheism in their mode of defending the Tri-personality; but they were not Tritheists:—though it would be far more accurate to say, that they were Tritheists, but not so as to make any practical breach of the Unity;—as if, for instance, Peter, James, and John had three silver tickets, by showing one of which either or all three would have the same thing as if they had shown all three tickets, and *vice versa*, all three tickets could produce no more than each one; each corresponding to the whole.

Ibid.

I am sure St. Gregory was so far from suspecting that he should be charged with Tritheism upon this account, that he fences against another charge of mixing and confounding the *Hypostases* or Persons, by denying any difference or diversity of nature, *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαφορὰν, μίξιν τινὰ τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ ἀνακύκλησιν κατασκευάζοντα*, which argues that he thought he had so fully asserted

the unity of the divine essence, that some might suspect he had left but one Person, as well as one nature in God.

This is just what I have said, p. 116. Whether Sabellianism or Tritheism, I observed is hard to determine. Extremes meet.

Ibid. p. 121.

Secondly, to this *homo-ousiotes* the Fathers added a numerical unity of the divine essence. This Petavius has proved at large by numerous testimonies, even from those very Fathers, whom he before accused for making God only collectively one, as three men are one man; such as Gregory Nyssen, St. Cyril, Maximus, Damascen; which is a demonstration, that however *he might mistake* their explication of it, from the unity of human nature, they were far enough from Tritheism, or one collective God.

This is most uncandid. Sherlock, even to be consistent with his own confession, § 1. p. 120, ought to have said, 'However he might mistake their *intention*, in consequence of their inconvenient and unphilosophical explication;' which mistake, in fact, consisted in taking them at their word.

Ibid.

Petavius greatly commends Boethius's explication of this mystery, which is the very same he had before condemned in Gregory Nyssen, and those other Fathers:—That Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God, not three Gods: *Augus conjunctionis ratio est indifferentia*: that is, such a sameness of nature as admits of no difference or variety, or an exact *homo-ousiotes*, as he explains it. * * Those make a difference, who augment and diminish, as the Arians do; who distinguish the Trinity into different natures, as well as Persons, of different worth and excellency, and thus divide and multiply the Trinity into a plurality of Gods. *Principium*

enim pluralitatis alteritas est. Præter alteritatem enim nec pluralitas quid sit intelligi potest.

Then if so, what becomes of the Persons? Have the Persons attributes distinct from their nature ;— or does not their common nature constitute their common attributes? *Principium enim, &c.*

Ibid. p. 124.

That the Fathers universally acknowledged that the operation of the whole Trinity, *ad extra*, is but one, Petavius has proved beyond all contradiction ; and hence they conclude the unity of the divine nature and essence ; for every nature has a virtue and energy of its own ; for nature is a principle of action, and if the energy and operation be but one, there can be but one nature ; and if there be two distinct and divided operations, if either of them can act alone without the other, there must be two divided natures.

Then it was not the Son, but the whole Trinity that was crucified ; for surely this was an operation *ad extra*.

Ibid. p. 126.

But to do St. Austin right, though he do not name this consciousness, yet he explains this Trinity in Unity by examples of mutual consciousness. I named one of his similitudes before, of the unity of our understanding, memory, and will, *which* are all conscious to each other ; that we remember what we understand and will ; we understand what we remember and will : and what we will we remember and understand ; and therefore all these three faculties do penetrate and comprehend each other.

Which ! The *man* is self-conscious alike when he remembers, wills, and understands ; but in what sense is the generic term ‘memory’ conscious to the generic word ‘will?’ This is mere nonsense.

Are memory, understanding, and volition persons,—self-subsistents? If not, what are they to the purpose? Who doubts that Jehovah is consciously powerful, consciously wise, consciously good; and that it is the same Jehovah, who in being omnipotent, is good and wise; in being wise, omnipotent and good; in being good, is wise and omnipotent? But what has all this to do with a distinction of Persons? Instead of one Tri-unity we might have a mille-unity. The fact is, that Sherlock, and (for aught I know) Gregory Nyssen, had not the clear idea of the Trinity, positively; but only a negative Arianism.

Ibid. p. 127.

He proceeds to shew that this unity is without all manner of confusion and mixture, * * for the mind that loves, is in the love. * * * And the knowledge of the mind which knows and loves itself, is in the mind, and in its love, because it loves itself, knowing, and knows itself loving: and thus also two are in each, for the mind which knows and loves itself, with its knowledge is in love, and with its love is in knowledge.

Then why do we make tri-personality in unity peculiar to God?

The doctrine of the Trinity (the foundation of all rational theology, no less than the precondition and ground of the rational possibility of the Christian Faith, that is, the Incarnation and Redemption), rests securely on the position,—that in man *omni actioni præit sua propria passio; Deus autem est actus purissimus sine ulla potentialitate*. As the tune produced between the breeze and Eolian harp is not a self-subsistent, so neither memory, nor understanding, nor even love in man: for he is a passive as well as active being: he is a patible agent. But

in God this is not so. Whatever is necessarily of him, (God of God, Light of Light,) is necessarily all-act; therefore necessarily self-subsistent, though not necessarily self-originated. This then is the true mystery, because the true unique; that the Son of God has origination without passion, that is, without ceasing to be a pure act; while a created entity is, as far as it is merely creaturely and distinguishable from the Creator, a mere *passio* or recipient. This unicity we strive, not to *express*, for that is impossible; but to designate, by the nearest, though inadequate, analogy,—*Begotten*.

Ibid. p. 133.

As for the Holy Ghost, whose nature is represented to be love, I do not indeed find in Scripture that it is any where said, that the Holy Ghost is that mutual love, wherewith Father and Son love each other: but this we know, that there is a mutual love between Father and Son: *the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands.*—(John iii. 35.) *And the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth.*—John v. 20; and our Saviour himself tells us, *I love the Father.*—John xiv. 31. And I shewed before, that love is a distinct act, and therefore in God must be a person: for there are no accidents nor faculties in God.

This most important, nay, fundamental truth, so familiar to the elder philosophy, and so strongly and distinctly enunciated by Philo Judæus, the senior and contemporary of the Evangelists, is to our modern divines darkness and a sound.

Sect. VI. pp. 147-8.

Yes ; you'll say, that there should be three Persons, each of which is God, and yet but one God, is a contradiction : but what principle of natural reason does it contradict ?

Surely never did argument vertiginatise more ! I had just acceded to Sherlock's exposition of the Trinity, as the Supreme Being, his reflex act of self-consciousness and his love, all forming one supreme mind ; and now he tells me, that each is the whole Supreme Mind, and denies that three, each *per se* the whole God, are not the same as three Gods ! I grant that division and separation are terms inapplicable, yet surely three distinct though undivided Gods, are three Gods. That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are the one true God, I fully believe ; but not Sherlock's exposition of the doctrine. Nay, I think it would have been far better to have worded the mystery thus :—The Father together with his Son and Spirit, is the one true God.

'Each *per se* God.' This is the *πρῶτον μέγα ψεῦδος* of Sherlock's scheme. Each of the three is whole God, because neither is, or can be *per se* ; the Father himself being *à se*, but not *per se*.

Ibid. p. 149.

For it is demonstrable that if there be three Persons and one God, each Person must be God, and yet there cannot be three distinct Gods, but one. For if each Person be not God, all three cannot be God, unless the Godhead have Persons in it which are not God.

Three persons having the same nature are three persons ;—and if to possess without limitation the divine nature, as opposed to the human, is what we mean by God, why then three such persons are three

Gods, and will be thought so, till Gregory Nyssen can persuade us that John, James, and Peter, each possessing the human nature, are not three men. John is a man, James is a man, and Peter is a man : but they are not three men, but one man !

Ibid. p. 150.

I affirm, that natural reason is not the rule and measure of expounding Scripture, no more than it is of expounding any other writing. The true and only way to interpret any writing, even the Scriptures themselves, is to examine the use and propriety of words and phrases, the connexion, scope, and design of the text, its allusion to ancient customs and usages, or disputes. For there is no other good reason to be given for any exposition, but that the words signify so, and the circumstances of the place, and the apparent scope of the writer require it.

This and the following paragraph are excellent.
O si sic omnia !

Ibid. p. 153.

Reconcile men to the doctrine (of the Trinity), and the Scripture is plain without any farther comment. This I have now endeavoured ; and I believe our adversaries will talk more sparingly of absurdities and contradictions for the future ; and they will lose the best argument they have against the orthodox expositions of Scripture.

Good doctor ! you sadly over-rated both your own powers, and the docility of your adversaries. If so clear a head and so zealous a Trinitarian as Dr. Waterland could not digest your exposition, or acquit it of Tritheism, little hope is there of finding the Unitarians more persuadable.

Ibid. p. 154.

Though Christ be God himself, yet if there be three Persons in the Godhead, the equality and sameness of nature does not destroy the subordination of Persons: a Son is equal to his Father by nature, but inferior to him as his Son; if the Father, as I have explained it, be original mind and wisdom, the Son a personal, subsisting, but reflex image of his Father's wisdom, though their eternal wisdom be equal and the same, yet the original is superior to the image, the Father to the Son.

But why? We men deem it so, because the image is but a shadow, and not equal to the original; but if it were the same in all perfections, how could that, which is exactly the same, be less? Again, God is all Being:—consequently there can nothing be added to the idea, except what implies a negation or diminution of it. If one and the same Being is equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead, but inferior as man; then it is $+m-x$, which is not $= +m$. But of two men I may say, that they are equal to each other. $A. = +\text{courage} - \text{wisdom}$. $B. = +\text{wisdom} - \text{courage}$. Both wise and courageous; but A. inferior in wisdom, B. in courage. But God is all-perfect.

Ibid. p. 156.

So born before all creatures, as *πρωτότοκος* also signifies, *that by him were all things created.*

All things were created by him, and for him, and he is before all things, (which is the explication of *πρωτότοκος* *πρὸς κτίσιν*, begotten before the whole creation, and therefore no part of the creation himself.)

This is quite right. Our version should here be corrected. *Πρῶτο* or *πρότατον* is here an intense comparative,—*infinitely before*.

Ibid. p. 159.

That he *being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, &c.*—*Phil.* ii. 8, 9.

I should be inclined to adopt an interpretation of the unusual phrase *ἄρπαγμα* somewhat different both from the Socinian and the Church version:—*'who being in the form of God did not think equality with God a thing to be seized with violence, but made, &c.'*

Ibid. p. 160.

Is a mere creature a fit lieutenant or representative of God in personal or prerogative acts of Government and power? Must not every being be represented by one of his own kind, a man by a man, an angel by an angel, in such acts as are proper to their natures? and must not God then be represented by one who is God? Is any creature capable of the government of the world? Does not this require infinite wisdom and infinite power? And can God communicate infinite wisdom and infinite power to a creature or a finite nature? That is, can a creature be made a true and essential God?

This is sound reasoning. It is to be regretted that Sherlock had not confined himself to logical comments on the Scripture, instead of attempting metaphysical solutions.

Ibid. pp. 161-3.

I find little or nothing to *object to* in this exposition, from pp. 161—163 inclusively, of *Phil.* ii. 8, 9. And yet I seem to feel, as if a something that should have been prefixed, and to which all these considerations would have been excellent seconds, were missing. To explain the Cross by the necessity of sacrificial blood, and the sacrificial blood as a type

and *ante-delegate* or *pre-substitute* of the Cross, is too like an *argumentum in circulo*.

Ibid. p. 164.

And though Christ be the eternal Son of God, and the natural Lord and heir of all things, yet *God hath* in this highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name, that at (or in *ἐν*) the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, &c.—Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.

Never was a sublime passage more debased than by this rendering of *ἐν* by *at*, instead of *in*;—*at* the *phenomenon*, instead of *in* the *noumenon*. For such is the force of *nomen*, name, in this and similar passages, namely, *in vera et substantiali potestate Jesu*: that is, *ἐν Λόγῳ καὶ διὰ Λόγου*, the true *noumenon* or *ens intelligibile* of Christ. To bow at hearing the *cognomen* may become a universal, but it is still only a non-essential, consequence of the former.

But the debasement of the idea is not the worst evil of this false rendering;—it has afforded the pretext and authority for un-Christian intolerance.

Ibid. p. 168.

The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son.—John v. 22. Should the Father judge the world, he *must* judge as the maker and sovereign of the world, by the strict rules of righteousness and justice, and then how could any sinner be saved?

(Why? Is mercy incompatible with righteousness? How then can the Son be righteous?)

But he has committed judgment to the Son, as a mediatory king, who judges by the equity and chancery of the Gospel.

This article required exposition incomparably more

than the simple doctrine of the Trinity, plain and evident *simplici intuitu*, and rendered obscure only by diverting the mental vision by terms drawn from matter and multitude. In the Trinity all the *How's*? may and should be answered by *Look!* just as a wise tutor would do in stating the fact of a double or treble motion, as of a ball rolling northward on the deck of a ship sailing south, while the earth is turning from west to east. And in like manner, that is, *per intuitum intellectualem*, must all the mysteries of faith be contemplated;—they are intelligible *per se*, not discursively and *per analogiam*. For the truths are unique, and may have shadows and types, but no analogies. At this moment I have no intuition, no intellectual diagram, of this article of the commission of all judgment to the Son, and therefore a multitude of plausible objections present themselves, which I cannot solve—nor do I expect to solve them till by faith I see the thing itself. Is not mercy an attribute of the Deity, as Deity, and not exclusively of the Person of the Son? And is not the authorising another to judge by equity and mercy the same as judging so ourselves? If the Father can do the former, why not the latter?

Ibid. p. 171.

And therefore now it is given him to have life in himself, as the Father hath life in himself, as the original fountain of all life, by whom the Son himself lives: all life is derived from God, either by eternal generation, or procession, or creation; and thus Christ hath life in himself also; to the new creation he is the fountain of life: *he quickeneth whom he will.*

The truths which hitherto had been metaphysical, then began to be historical. The Eternal was to be

manifested in time. Hence Christ came with signs and wonders ; that is, the absolute, or the anterior to cause and effect, manifested itself as a *phenomenon* in time, but with the predicates of eternity ; and this is the only possible definition of a miracle *in re ipsa*, and not merely *ad hominem*, or *ad ignorantiam*.

Ibid. p. 177.

His next argument consists in applying such things to the divinity of our Saviour as belong to his humanity ; *that he increased in wisdom, &c. :—that he knows not the day of judgment* ; which he evidently speaks of himself as man ; as all the ancient Fathers confess. In St. Mark it is said, *But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels that are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*. St. Matthew does not mention the Son : *Of that day and hour knoweth no man, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only*.

How much more politic, as well as ingenuous, it had been to have acknowledged the difficulty of this text. So far from its being evident, the evidence would be on the Arian side, were it not that so many express texts determine us to the contrary.

Ibid.

Which shews that the Son in St. Matthew is included in the *oûdels none*, or no man, and therefore concerns him only as a man : for the Father *includes the whole Trinity*, and therefore includes the Son, who seeth whatever his Father doth.

This is an *argumentum in circulo*, and *petitio rei sub lite*. Why is he called the Son in *antithesis* to the Father, if it meant, ‘no not the Christ, except in his character of the co-eternal Son, included in the Father?’ If it ‘concerned him only as a man,’ why

is he placed after the angels? Why called the *Son* simply, instead of the Son of Man, or the Messiah?

Ibid.

* *Oὐδεὶς* is not *οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων*, but *no one*: as in John i. 18. *No one hath seen God at any time*; that is, he is by essence invisible.

This most difficult text I have not seen explained satisfactorily. I have thought that the ἄγγελοι must here be taken in the primary sense of the word, namely, as messengers, or missionary Prophets: Of this day knoweth no one, not the messengers or revealers of God's purposes now in heaven, no, not the Son, the greatest of Prophets,—that is, he in that character promised to declare all that in that character it was given him to know.

Ibid. p. 186.

When St. Paul calls the Father the One God, he expressly opposes it to the many gods of the heathens. *For though there be that are called gods, &c. but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*: where the *one God* and *one Lord and Mediator* is opposed to the many gods and many lords and mediators which were worshipped by the heathens.

But surely the *one Lord* is as much distinguished from the *one God*, as both are contradistinguished from the *gods many and lords many* of the heathens. Besides the *Father* is not the term used in that age in distinction from the gods that are no gods; but Ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός.

Ibid. p. 222.

The Word was with God; that is, it was not yet in the world, or not yet made flesh; but with God.—*John* i. 1. So that to be *with God*, signifies nothing but not to be in the world.

The Word was with God.

Grotius does say, that this was opposed to the Word's being made flesh, and appearing in the world: but he was far enough from thinking that these words have only a negative sense: * * * for he tells us what the positive sense is, that with God is *παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ*, with the Father, * * and explains it by what Wisdom says, *Prov.* vii. 30. *Then I was by him*, &c. which he does not think a *proteopopeia*, but spoken of a subsisting person.

But even this is scarcely tenable even as Greek. Had this been St. John's meaning, surely he would have said, *ἐν Θεῷ*, not *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, in the nearest proximity that is not confusion. But it is strange, that Sherlock should not have seen that Grotius had a hankering towards Socinianism, but, like a *shy cock*, and a man of the world, was always ready to unsay what he had said.

NOTES ON WATERLAND'S VINDICATION OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY.*

In initio.

It would be no easy matter to find a tolerably competent individual who more venerates the writings

* A Vindication of Christ's Divinity: being a defence of some queries relating to Dr. Clarke's scheme of the Holy Trinity, &c. By Daniel Waterland 2nd edit. Cambridge, 1719.—*Ed.*

of Waterland than I do, and long have done. But still in how many pages do I not see reason to regret, that the total idea of the $4=3=1$,—of the adorable Tetractys, eternally self-manifested in the Triad, Father, Son, and Spirit,—was never in its cloudless unity present to him. Hence both he and Bishop Bull too often treat it as a peculiarity of positive religion, which is to be cleared of all contradiction to reason, and then, thus negatively qualified, to be actually received by an act of the mere will; *sit pro ratione voluntas*. Now, on the other hand, I affirm, that the article of the Trinity is religion, is reason, and its universal *formula*; and that there neither is, nor can be, any religion, any reason, but what is, or is an expansion of the truth of the Trinity; in short, that all other pretended religions, pagan or *pseudo-Christian* (for example, Sabellian, Arian, Socinian), are in themselves Atheism; though God forbid that I should call or even think the men so denominated Atheists. I affirm a heresy often, but never dare denounce the holder a heretic.

On this ground only can it be made comprehensible, how any honest and commonly intelligent man can withstand the proofs and sound logic of Bull and Waterland, that they failed in the first place to present the idea itself of the great doctrine which they so ably advocated. Take myself, S. T. C. as a humble instance. I was never so befooled as to think that the author of the fourth Gospel, or that St. Paul, ever taught the Priestleyan Psilanthropism, or that Unitarianism (presumptuously, nay, absurdly so called,) was the doctrine of the New Testament generally. But during the sixteen months of my aberration from the Catholic Faith, I presumed that the tenets of the divinity of Christ, the Redemption,

and the like, were irrational, and that what was contradictory to reason could not have been revealed by the Supreme Reason. As soon as I discovered that these doctrines were not only consistent with reason, but themselves very reason, I returned at once to the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and to the Faith.

As to Dr. Samuel Clarke, the fact is, every generation has its one or more over-rated men. Clarke was such in the reign of George I. ; Dr. Johnson eminently so in that of George III. ; Lord Byron being the star now in the ascendant.

In every religious and moral use of the word, God, taken absolutely, that is, not as a God, or the God, but as God, a relativity, a distinction in kind *ab omni quod non est Deus*, is so essentially implied, that it is a matter of perfect indifference, whether we assert a world without God, or make God the world. The one is as truly Atheism as the other. In fact, for all moral and practical purposes they are the same position differently expressed ; for whether I say, God is the world, or the world is God, the inevitable conclusion, the sense and import is, that there is no other God than the world, that is, there is no other meaning to the term God. Whatever you may mean by, or choose to believe of, the world, that and that alone you mean by, and believe of, God. Now I very much question whether in any other sense Atheism, that is, speculative Atheism, is possible. For even in the Lucretian, the coarsest and crudest scheme of the Epicurean doctrine, a hylozism, a potential life, is clearly implied, as also in the celebrated *lene clinamen* becoming actual. Desperadoes articulating breath into a blasphemy of nonsense, to which they themselves attach no connected meaning, and the wickedness of which is alone intelligible,

there may be ; but a La Place, or a La Grand, would, and with justice, resent and repel the imputation of a belief in chance, or of a denial of law, order, and self-balancing life and power in the world. Their error is, that they make them the proper and underived attributes of the world. It follows then, that Pantheism is equivalent to Atheism, and that there is no other Atheism actually existing, or speculatively conceivable, but Pantheism. Now I hold it demonstrable that a consistent Socinianism, following its own consequences, must come to Pantheism, and in ungodding the Saviour must deify cats and dogs, fleas and frogs. There is, there can be, no *medium* between the Catholic Faith of Trinal Unity, and Atheism disguised in the self-contradicting term, Pantheism ;—for every thing God, and no God, are identical positions.

Query I. p. 1.

The Word was God.—John i. 1. *I am the Lord, and there is none else : there is no God besides me.*—Is. xiv. 5, &c.

In all these texts the *was*, or *is*, ought to be rendered positively, or objectively, and not as a mere connective : *The Word Is God*, and saith, *I Am the Lord ; there is no God besides me*, the Supreme Being, *Deitas objectiva*. The Father saith, *I Am in that I am*,—*Deitas subjectiva*.

Ibid. p. 2.

Whether all other beings, besides the one Supreme God, be not excluded by the texts of Isaiah (to which many more might be added), and consequently, whether Christ can be God at all, unless He be the same with the Supreme God ?

The sum of your answer to this query is, that the texts

cited from Isaiah, are spoken of one Person only, the Person of the Father, &c.

O most unhappy mistranslation of *Hypostasis* by Person ! The Word is properly the only Person.

Ibid. p. 3.

Now, upon your hypothesis, we must add ; that even the Son of God himself, however divine he may be thought, is really no God at all in any just and proper sense. He is no more than a nominal God, and stands excluded with the rest. All worship of him, and reliance upon him, will be idolatry, as much as the worship of angels, or men, or of the gods of the heathen would be. God the Father he is God, and he only, and *him only shalt thou serve*. This I take to be a clear consequence from your principles, and unavoidable.

Waterland's argument is absolutely unanswerable by a worshipper of Christ. The modern *ultra*-Socinian cuts the knot.

Query II. p. 43.

And therefore he might as justly bear the style and title of *Lord God, God of Abraham, &c.*, while he acted in that capacity, as he did that of *Mediator, Messiah, Son of the Father, &c.*, after that he condescended to act in another, and to discover his personal relation.

And why, then, did not Dr. Waterland,—why did not his great predecessor in this glorious controversy, Bishop Bull, contend for a revival of our established version of the Bible, but especially of the New Testament ? Either the unanimous belief and testimony of the first five or six centuries, grounded on the reiterated declarations of John and Paul, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, were erroneous, or at best doubtful ;—and then why not

wipe them off; why these references to them?—or else they were, as I believe, and both Bull and Waterland believed, the very truth; and then why continue the translation of the Hebrew into English at second-hand through the *medium* of the Septuagint? Have we not adopted the Hebrew word, Jehovah? Is not the *Kúpios*, or Lord, of the LXX. a Greek substitute, in countless instances, for the Hebrew Jehovah? Why not, then, restore the original word, and in the Old Testament religiously render Jehovah by Jehovah, and every text of the New Testament, referring to the Old, by the Hebrew word in the text referred to? Had this been done, Socinianism would have been scarcely possible in England.

Why was not this done?—I will tell you why. Because that great truth, in which are contained all treasures of all possible knowledge, was still opaque even to Bull and Waterland; because the idea itself, that *Idea Idearum*, the one substrative truth which is the form, manner, and involvent of all truths,—was never present to either of them in its entirety, unity, and transparency. They most ably vindicated the doctrine of the Trinity, negatively, against the charge of positive irrationality. With equal ability they showed the contradictions, nay, the absurdities, involved in the rejection of the same by a professed Christian. They demonstrated the utterly un-Scriptural and contra-Scriptural nature of Arianism, and Sabellianism, and Socinianism. But the self-evidence of the great Truth, as a universal of the reason,—as the reason itself—as a light which revealed itself by its own essence as light—this they had not had vouchsafed to them.

Query XV. pp. 225-6.

The pretence is, that we equivocate in talking of eternal generation.

All generation is necessarily *ἀναρχον τι*, without dividuous beginning, and herein contradistinguished from creation.

Ibid. p. 226.

True, it is not the same with human generation.

Not the same *eodem modo*, certainly; but it is so essentially the same that the generation of the Son of God is the transcendent, which gives to human generation its right to be so called. It is in the most proper, that is, the fontal, sense of the term, generation.

Ibid.

You have not proved that all generation implies beginning; and what is more, cannot.

It would be difficult to disprove the contrary. Generation with a beginning is not generation, but creation. Hence we may see how necessary it is that in all important controversies we should predefine the terms negatively, that is, exclude and preclude all that is not meant by them; and then the positive meaning, that is, what is meant by them, will be the easy result,—the post-definition, which is at once the real definition and impletion, the circumference and the area.

Ibid. pp. 227-8.

It is a usual thing with many (moralists may account for it), when they meet with a difficulty which they cannot

readily answer, immediately to conclude that the doctrine is false, and to run directly into the opposite persuasion;—not considering that they may meet with much more weighty objections there than before; or that they may have reason sufficient to maintain and believe many things in philosophy and divinity, though they cannot answer every question which may be started, or every difficulty which may be raised against them.

Oh, if Bull and Waterland had been first philosophers, and then divines, instead of being first, manacled, or say articulated clerks of a guild;—if the clear free intuition of the truth had led them to the Article, and not the Article to the defence of it as not having been proved to be false,—how different would have been the result! Now we only feel the inconsistency of Arianism, not the truth of the doctrine attacked. Arianism is confuted, and in such a manner, that I will not reject the Catholic Faith upon the Arian's grounds. It may, I allow, be still true. But that it is true, because the Arians have hitherto failed to prove its falsehood, is no logical conclusion. The Unitarian may have better luck; or if he fail, the Deist.

Query XVI. p. 234.

But God's *thoughts are not our thoughts.*

That is, as I would interpret the text;—the ideas in and by which God reveals himself to man are not the same with, and are not to be judged by, the conceptions which the human understanding generalises from the notices of the senses, common to man and to irrational animals, dogs, elephants, beavers, and the like, endowed with the same senses. Therefore I regard this paragraph, p. 234, as a specimen of admirable special pleading *ad hominem* in the Court

of eristic Logic ; but I condemn it as a wilful resignation or temporary self-deposition of the reason. I will not suppose what my reason declares to be no position at all, and therefore an impossible sub-position.

Ibid. p. 235.

Let us keep to the terms we began with ; lest by the changing of words we make a change of ideas, and alter the very state of the question.

This misuse, or rather this *omnium-gatherum* expansion and consequent extenuation of the word, Idea and Ideas, may be regarded as a calamity inflicted by Mr. Locke on the reigns of William III. Queen Anne, and the first two Georges.

Ibid. p. 237.

Sacrifice was one instance of worship required under the Law ; and it is said ;—*He that sacrificeth unto any God, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed* (Exod. xxii. 20.) Now suppose any person, considering with himself that only absolute and sovereign sacrifice was appropriated to God by this law, should have gone and sacrificed to other gods, and have been convicted of it before the judges. The apology he must have made for it, I suppose, must have run thus : ‘Gentlemen, though I have sacrificed to other gods, yet I hope you’ll observe, that I did it not absolutely : I meant not any absolute or supreme sacrifice (which is all that the Law forbids), but relative and inferior only. I regulated my intentions with all imaginable care, and my esteem with the most critical exactness. I considered the other gods, whom I sacrificed to, as inferior only and infinitely so ; reserving all sovereign sacrifice to the supreme God of Israel.’ This, or the like apology must, I presume, have brought off the criminal with some applause for his acuteness, if your principles be true. Either you must allow this, or you must be content to say, that not only absolute

supreme sacrifice (if there be any sense in that phrase), but all sacrifice was by the Law appropriate to God only, &c. &c.

How was it possible for an Arian to answer this? But it was impossible: and Arianism was extinguished by Waterland, but in order to the increase of Socinianism; and this, I doubt not, Waterland foresaw. He was too wise a man to suppose that the exposure of the folly and falsehood of one form of Infidelism would cure or prevent Infidelity. Enough, that he made it more bare-faced—I might say, bare-breeched; for modern Unitarianism is verily the *sans-culotterie* of religion.

Ibid. p. 239.

You imagine that acts of religious worship are to derive their signification and quality from the intention and meaning of the worshippers: whereas the very reverse of it is the truth.

Truly excellent. Let the Church of England praise God for her saints—a more glorious Kalendar than Rome can show!

Ibid. p. 251.

The sum then of the case is this: if the Son could be included as being uncreated, and very God; as Creator, Sustainer, Preserver of all things, and one with the Father; then he might be worshipped upon their (the Ante-Nicene Fathers') principles, but otherwise could not.

Every where in this invaluable writer I have to regret the absence of all distinct idea of the I Am as the proper attribute of the Father; and hence the ignorance of the proper Jehovaism of the Son; and hence, that while we worship the Son together with

the Father, we nevertheless pray to the Father only through the Son.

Query XVII. *Ibid.*

And we may never be able perfectly to comprehend the relations of the three persons, *ad intra*, amongst themselves; the ineffable order and economy of the ever-blessed co-eternal Trinity.

‘Comprehend!’ No. For how can any spiritual truth be comprehended? Who can comprehend his own will; or his own personhood, that is, his I-ship (*Ichheit*); or his own mind, that is, his person; or his own life? But we can distinctly apprehend them. In strictness, the Idea, God, like all other ideas rightly so called, and as contradistinguished from conception, is not so properly above, as alien from, comprehension. It is like smelling a sound.

Query XVIII. p. 269.

From what hath been observed, it may appear sufficiently that the divine *Λόγος* was our King and our God long before; that he had the same claim and title to religious worship that the Father himself had—*only not so distinctly revealed*.

Here I differ *toto orbe* from Waterland, and say with Luther and Zinzendorf, that before the baptism of John the *Logos* alone had been distinctly revealed, and that first in Christ he declared himself a Son, namely, the co-eternal only-begotten Son, and thus revealed the Father. Indeed the want of the Idea of the $1=3$ could alone have prevented Waterland from inferring this from his own query II. and the texts cited by him pp. 28—38. The Father cannot be revealed except in and through the Son, his eternal *exegesis*. The contrary position is an ab-

surdity. The Supreme Will, indeed, the Absolute Good, knoweth himself as the Father : but the act of self-affirmation, the I Am in that I Am, is not a manifestation *ad extra*, not an *exegesis*.

Ibid. p. 274.

This point being settled, I might allow you that, in some sense, distinct worship commenced with the distinct title of Son or Redeemer : that is, our blessed Lord was then first worshipped, or commanded to be worshipped by us, under that distinct title or character ; having before had no other title or character peculiar and proper to himself, but only what was common to the Father and him too.

Rather shall I say that the Son and the Spirit, the Word and the Wisdom, were alone worshipped, because alone revealed under the Law. See Proverbs, i., ii.

The passage quoted from Bishop Bull is very plausible and very eloquent ; but only *cum multis granis salis sumend.*

Query XIX. p. 279.

That the Father, whose honour had been sufficiently secured under the Jewish dispensation, and could not but be so under the Christian also, &c.

Here again ! This contradiction of Waterland to his own principles is continually recurring ;—yea, and in one place he involves the very Tritheism, of which he was so victorious an antagonist, namely, that the Father is Jehovah, the Son Jehovah, and the Spirit Jehovah ;—thus making Jehovah either a mere synonyme of God—whereas he himself rightly renders it 'Ο *Ων, which St. John every where, and St. Paul no less, makes the peculiar name of the

Son, *μονογενῆς υἱός*, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός—; or he affirms the same absurdity, as if he had said: The Father is the Son, and the Son is the Son, and the Holy Ghost is the Son, and yet there are not three Sons but one Son. N.B. 'Ο ὢν is the verbal noun of ὅς ἐστι, not of ἐγώ εἰμι. It is strange how little use has been made of that profound and most pregnant text, *John* i. 18!

Query XX. p. 302.

The *ῥημοσύσιον* itself might have been spared, at least out of the Creeds, had not a fraudulent abuse of good words brought matters to that pass, that the Catholic Faith was in danger of being lost even under Catholic language.

Most assuredly the very 'disputable' rendering of *ῥημοσύσιον* by consubstantial, or of one substance with, not only might have been spared, but should have been superseded. Why not—as is felt to be for the interest of science in all the physical sciences—retain the same term in all languages? Why not *usia* and homoüsial, as well as *hypostasis*, hypostatic, homogeneous, heterogeneous, and the like;—or as Baptism, Eucharist, Liturgy, Epiphany and the rest?

Query XXI. p. 303.

The Doctor's insinuating from the 300 texts, which style the Father God absolutely, or the one God, that the Son is not strictly and essentially God, not one God with the Father, is a strained and remote inference of his own.

Waterland has weakened his argument by seeming to admit that in all these 300 texts the Father, *distinctive*, is meant.

Ibid. pp. 316-17.

The simplicity of God is another mystery. * * When we come to inquire whether all extension, or all plurality, diversity, composition of substance and accident, and the like, be consistent with it, then it is we discover how confused and inadequate our ideas are. * * To this head belongs that perplexing question (beset with difficulties on all sides), whether the divine substance be extended or no.

Surely, the far larger part of these assumed difficulties rests on a misapplication either of the senses to the sense, or of the sense to the understanding, or of the understanding to the reason;—in short, on an asking for images where only theorems can be, or requiring theorems for thoughts, that is, conceptions or notions, or lastly, conceptions for ideas?

Query XXIII. p. 351.

But taking advantage of the ambiguity of the word *hypostasis*, sometimes used to signify substance, and sometimes person, you contrive a fallacy.

And why did not Waterland lift up his voice against this mischievous abuse of the term *hypostasis*, and the perversion of its Latin rendering, *substantia* as being equivalent to *οὐσία*? Why *οὐσία* should not have been rendered by *essentia*, I cannot conceive. *Est* seems a contraction of *esset*, and *ens* of *essens*: *ὦν, οὔσα, οὐσία* = *essens, essentis, essentia*.

Ibid. p. 354.

Let me desire you not to give so great a loose to your fancy in divine things: you seem to consider every thing under the notion of extension and sensible images.

Very true. The whole delusion of the Anti-Trinitarians arises out of this, that they apply the

property of imaginable matter—in which A. is, that is, can only be imagined, by exclusion of B. as the universal predicate of all substantial being.

Ibid. p. 357.

And our English Unitarians * * have been still refining upon the Socinian scheme, * * and have brought it still nearer to Sabellianism.

The Sabellian and the Unitarian seem to differ only in this;—that what the Sabellian calls union with, the Unitarian calls full inspiration by, the Divinity.

Ibid. p. 359.

It is obvious, at first sight, that the true Arian or Semi-Arian scheme (which you would be thought to come up to at least) can never tolerably support itself without taking in the Catholic principle of a human soul to join with the Word.

Here comes one of the consequences of the Cartesian Dualism: as if *σὰρξ*, the living body, could be or exist without a soul, or a human living body without a human soul! *Σὰρξ* is not Greek for carrion, nor *σῶμα* for carcase.

Query XXIV. p. 371.

Necessary existence is an essential character, and belongs equally to Father and Son.

Subsistent in themselves are Father, Son and Spirit: the Father only has origin in himself.

Query XXVI. p. 412.

The words *ὅχι ὡς γενόμενον* he construes thus: "not as eternally generated," as if he had read *γεννώμενον*, supplying

lilies by imagination. The sense and meaning of the word *γενόμενος*, signifying made, or created, is so fixed and certain in this author, &c.

This is but one of fifty instances in which the true Englishing of *γενόμενος*, *ἐγένετο*, &c. would have prevented all mistake. It is not *made*, but *became*. Thus here:—begotten eternally, and not as one that *became*; that is, as *not* having been before. The only-begotten Son never *became*; but all things *became* through him.

Ibid. p. 412.

Et nos etiam Sermoni atque Rationi, itemque Virtuti, per quæ omnia molitum Deum ediximus, propriam substantiam Spiritum inscribimus; cui et Sermo insit prænuntianti, et Ratio adsit disponenti, et Virtus perficienti. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ.—Tertull. Apol. c. 21.

How strange and crude the realism of the Christian Faith appears in Tertullian's rugged Latin!

Ibid. p. 414.

He represents Tertullian as making the Son, in his highest capacity, ignorant of the day of judgment.

Of the true sense of the text, *Mark* xiii. 32, I still remain in doubt; but, though as zealous and steadfast a Homousian as Bull and Waterland themselves, I am inclined to understand it of the Son in his highest capacity; but I would avoid the inferiorizing consequences by a stricter rendering of the *ἐὶ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ*. The *μόνον* of *St. Matthew* xxiv. 36. is here omitted. I think Waterland's a very unsatisfying solution of this text.

Ibid. p. 415.

Exclamans quod se Deus reliquisset, &c. Habes ipsum exclamantem in passione, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti! Sed hæc vox carnis et animæ, id est, hominis; nec Sermonis, nec Spiritus, &c.—Tertull. adv. Prax. cc. 26, 30.

The ignorance of the Fathers, and, Origen excepted, of the Ante-Nicene Fathers in particular, in all that respects Hebrew learning and the New Testament references to the Old Testament, is shown in this so early fantastic misinterpretation grounded on the fact of our Lord's reminding, and as it were giving out aloud to John and Mary the twenty-second Psalm, the prediction of his present sufferings and after glory. But the entire passage in Tertullian, though no proof of his Arianism, is full of proofs of his want of insight into the true sense of the Scripture texts. Indeed without detracting from the inestimable services of the Fathers from Tertullian to Augustine respecting the fundamental article of the Christian Faith, yet commencing from the fifth century, I dare claim for the Reformed Church of England the honorable name of ἀρχαιοπιστὴς of Trinitarianism, and the foremost rank among the Churches, Roman or Protestant: the learned Romanist divines themselves admit this, and make a merit of the reluctance with which they nevertheless admit it, in respect of Bishop Bull.*

* Y sino ahí está el Doctor Jorge Bull Profesor de Teología, y Presbítero de la Iglesia Anglicana, que murió Obispo de San David el año de 1716, cuyas obras teológico—escolásticas, en folio, nada deben á las mas alambicadas que se han estampado en Salamanca y en Coimbra; y como los puntos que por la mayor parte trató en ellas son sobre los misterios capitales de nuestra Santa Fé, conviene á saber, sobre el misterio de la Trinidad, y sobre el de la Divinidad de Cristo, en los cuales su Pseudoiglesia Anglicana no se desvia de la Católica, en verdad, que los manejó con tanto nervio y con tanta delicadeza, que los teólogos ortodoxos mas escolastizados, como si dijéramos electrizados, hacen grande estimacion de dichas obras. Y aun en los de

Ibid. p. 421.

It seems to me that if there be not reasons of conscience obliging a good man to speak out, there are always reasons of prudence which should make a wise man hold his tongue.

True, and as happily expressed. To this, however, the honest Anti-Trinitarian must come at last: "Well, well, I admit that John and Paul thought differently; but this remains my opinion."

Query XXVII. p. 427.

Τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν, τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατέρα.—
Athanas. Cont. Gent.

The just and literal rendering of the passage is this: 'The true God who in reality is such, namely, the Father of Christ.'

The passage admits of a somewhat different interpretation from this of Waterland's, and of equal, if not greater, force against the Arian notion: namely, taking τὸν ὄντως ὄντα distinctively from ὁ ὦν—the *Ens omnis entitatis, etiam suæ*, that is, the I Am the Father, in distinction from the *Ens Supremum*, the Son. It cannot, however, be denied that in changing the formula of the *Tetractys* into the *Trias*, by merging the *Prothesis* in the *Thesis*, the Identity in the Ipseity, the Christian Fathers subjected their exposition to many inconveniences.

Ibid. p. 432.

Οὐχ ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὧν ἔσται Θεὸς ὁ τῷ Μωσέϊ εἰπὼν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Θεὸν Ἰακώβ.—Justin Mart. Dial. p. 180.

Tratados que escribió acerca de la Justificación, que es punto mas resvaladizo, en los principios que abrazó, no se separó de los teologos Catolicos; pero en algunas consecuencias que infirió, ya dió bastantemente á entender la mala leche que habia mamado. Frey. Gerundio. ii. 7.—Ed.

The meaning is, that that divine Person, who called himself God, and was God, was not the Person of the Father, whose ordinary character is that of maker of all things, but another divine Person, namely, God the Son. * * It was Justin's business to show that there was a divine Person, one who was God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and was not the Father; and therefore there were two divine Persons.

At all events, it was a very incautious expression on the part of Justin, though his meaning was, doubtless, that which Waterland gives. The same most improper, or at best, most inconvenient because equivocal phrase, has been, as I think, interpolated into our Apostles' Creed.

Ibid. p. 436.

Τηροῦτο δ' ἂν, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, εἰς μὲν Θεός, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων. κ.τ.λ.—Greg. Naz. Orat. 22.

We may, as I conceive, preserve (the doctrine of) one God, by referring both the Son and Holy Ghost to one cause, &c.

Another instance of the inconvenience of the *Tris* compared with the *Tetractys*.

NOTES ON WATERLAND'S IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY.*

Chap. I. p. 18.

It is the property of the Divine Being to be unsearchable; and if he were not so, he would not be divine. Must we therefore reject the most certain truths concerning the Deity, only because they are incomprehensible, &c.?

It is strange that so sound, so admirable a logician

* The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted, is reply to some late pamphlets. 2nd edit. Lond. 1734.

as Waterland, should have thought 'unsearchable and 'incomprehensible' synonymous, or at least equivalent terms:—and this, though St. Paul hath made it the privilege of the full-grown Christian, to *search out the deep things of God himself*.

Chap. IV. p. 111.

The *delivering over unto Satan* seems to have been a form of excommunication, declaring the person reduced to the state of a heathen; and in the Apostolical age it was accompanied with supernatural or miraculous effects upon the bodies of the persons so delivered.

Unless the passage, (*Acts* v. 1—11.) be an authority, I must doubt the truth of this assertion, as tending to destroy the essential spirituality of Christian motives, and, in my judgment, as irreconcilable with our Lord's declaration, that his kingdom was *not of this world*. Let me be once convinced that St. Paul, with the elders of an Apostolic Church, knowingly and intentionally appended a palsy or a consumption to the sentence of excommunication, and I shall be obliged to reconsider my old opinion as to the anti-Christian principle of the Romish Inquisition.

Ibid. p. 114.

A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.—Tit. iii. 10, 11.

This text would be among my minor arguments for doubting the Paulinity of the Epistle to Titus. It seems to me to breathe the spirit of a later age, and a more established Church power.

Ibid.

Not every one that mistakes in judgment, though in matters of great importance, in points fundamental, but he that openly espouses such fundamental error. * * * Dr. Whitby adds to the definition, the espousing it out of disgust, pride, envy, or some worldly principle, and against his conscience.

Whitby went too far; Waterland not far enough. Every schismatic is not necessarily a heretic; but every heretic is virtually a schismatic. As to the meaning of *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, Waterland surely makes too much of a very plain matter. What was the sentence passed on a heretic? A public declaration that he was no longer a member of—that is, of one faith with—the Church. This the man himself, after two public notices, admits and involves in the very act of persisting. However confident as to the truth of the doctrine he has set up, he cannot, after two public admonitions, be ignorant that it is a doctrine contrary to the articles of his communion with the Church that has admitted him; and in regard of his alienation from that communion, he is necessarily *αὐτοκατάκριτος*,—though in his pride of heart he might say with the man of old, “And I banish you.”

Ibid. p. 123.

— as soon as the miraculous gifts, or gift of discerning spirits, ceased.

No one point in the New Testament perplexes me so much as these (so called) miraculous gifts. I feel a moral repugnance to the reduction of them to natural and acquired talents, ennobled and made energetic by the life and convergency of faith;—and yet on no other scheme can I reconcile them with

the idea of Christianity, or the particular supposed, with the general known, facts. But, thank God! it is a question which does not in the least degree affect our faith or practice. I mean, if God permit, to go through the Middletonian controversy, as soon as I can procure the loan of the books, or have health enough to become a reader in the British Museum.

Ibid. p. 126.

And what if, after all, spiritual censures (for of such only I am speaking) should happen to fall upon such a person, he may be in some measure hurt in his reputation by it, and that is all. And possibly hereupon his errors, before invincible through ignorance, may be removed by wholesome instruction and admonition, and so he is befriended in it, &c.

Waterland is quite in the right so far;—but the penal laws, the temporal inflictions—would he have called for the repeal of these? Milton saw this subject with a mastering eye,—saw that the awful power of excommunication was degraded and weakened even to impotence by any the least connection with the law of the State.

Ibid. p. 127.

— who are hereby forbidden to receive such heretics into their houses, or to pay them so much as common civilities. This precept of the Apostle may be further illustrated by his own practice, recorded by Irenæus, who had the information at second-hand from Polycarp, a disciple of St. John's, that St. John, once meeting with Cerinthus at the bath, retired instantly without bathing, for fear lest the bath should fall by reason of Cerinthus being there, the enemy to truth.

Psha! The bidding him God speed, λέγων αὐτῷ

χαλπευ,—(2 John 11,) is a spirituality, not a mere civility. If St. John knew or suspected that Cerinthus had a cutaneous disease, there would have been some sense in the refusal, or rather, as I correct myself, some probability of truth in this gossip of Irenæus.

Ibid. p. 128.

They corrupted the faith of Christ, and in effect subverted the Gospel. That was enough to render them detestable in the eyes of all men who sincerely loved and valued sound faith.

O, no, no, not 'them!' *Error quidem, non tamen homo errans, abominandus*: or, to pun a little, *abhominandus*. Be bold in denouncing the heresy, but slow and timorous in denouncing the erring brother as a heretic. The unmistakeable passions of a factionary and a schismatic, the ostentatious display, the ambition and dishonest arts of a sect-founder, must be superinduced on the false doctrine, before the heresy makes the man a heretic.

Ibid. p. 129.

— the doctrine of the Nicolaitans.

Were the Nicolaitans a sect, properly so called? The word is the Greek rendering of 'the children of Balaam;' that is, men of grossly immoral and disorderly lives.

Ibid. p. 130.

For if he who shall break one of the least moral commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven (Mat. v. 19), it must be a very dangerous experiment, &c.

A sad misinterpretation of our Lord's words, which

from the context most evidently had no reference to any moral, that is, universal commandment as such, but to the national institutions of the Jewish state, as long as that state should be in existence; that is to say, until *the Heaven* or the Government, and *the Earth*, or the People or the Governed, as *one corpus politicum*, or nation, had *passed away*. Till that time,—which was fulfilled under Titus, and more thoroughly under Hadrian,—no Jew was relieved from his duties as a citizen and subject by his having become a Christian. The text, together with the command implied in the miracle of the tribute-money in the fish's mouth, might be fairly and powerfully adduced against the Quakers, in respect of their refusal to pay their tithes, or whatever tax they please to consider as having an un-Christian destination. But are they excluded from the kingdom of heaven, that is, the Christian Church? No;—but they must be regarded as weak and injudicious members of it.

Chap. V. p. 140.

Accordingly it may be observed, how the unbelievers caress and compliment those complying gentlemen who meet them half way, while they are perpetually inveighing against the stiff divines, as they call them, whom they can make no advantage of.

Lessing, an honest and frank-hearted Infidel, expresses the same sentiment. As long as a German Protestant divine keeps himself stiff and steadfast to the Augsburg Confession, to the full Creed of Melancthon, he is impregnable, and may bid defiance to sceptic and philosopher. But let him quit the citadel, and the Cossacs are upon him.

Ibid. p. 187.

And therefore it is infallibly certain, as Mr. Chillingworth well argues with respect to Christianity in general, that we ought firmly to believe it; because wisdom and reason require that we should believe those things which are by many degrees more credible and probable than the contrary.

Yes, where there are but two positions, one of which must be true. When A. is presented to my mind with probability=5, and B. with probability=15, I must think that B. is three times more probable than A. And yet it is very possible that a C. may be found which will supersede both.

Chap. VI. p. 230.

The Creed of Jerusalem, preserved by Cyril (the most ancient perhaps of any now extant), is very express for the divinity of God the Son, in these words: 'And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, true God, begotten of the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made.' * * * *Kal eis éna Kýrion 'Iησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, Θεὸν ἀληθινόν, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.*

I regard this, both from its antiquity and from the peculiar character of the Church of Jerusalem, so far removed from the influence of the Pythagoreo-Platonic sects of Paganism, as the most important and convincing mere fact of evidence in the Trinitarian controversy.

Ibid. p. 233.

—true Son of the Father, *invisible* of invisible, &c.

How is this reconcilable with *John* i. 18—(*no one hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son,*

which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him,—) or with the *express image*, asserted above. 'Invisible,' I suppose, must be taken in the narrowest sense, that is, to bodily eyes. But then the one 'invisible' would not mean the same as the other.

Ibid. p. 236.

Symbola certe Ecclesiæ ex ipso Ecclesiæ sensu, non ex hæreticorum cerebello, exponenda sunt.—Bull. Judic. Eccl. v.

The truth of a Creed must be tried by the Holy Scriptures ; but the sense of the Creed by the known sentiments and inferred intention of its compilers.

Ibid. p. 238.

The very name of Father, applied in the Creed to the first Person, intimates the relation he bears to a Son, &c.

No doubt : but the most probable solution of the apparent want of distinctness of explication on this article, in my humble judgment, is—that the so-called Apostle's Creed was at first the preparatory confession of the catechumens, the admission-ticket, as it were, (*symbolum ad Baptismum*), at the gate of the Church, and gradually augmented as heresies started up. The latest of these seems to have consisted in the doubt respecting the entire death of Jesus on the Cross, as distinguished from suspended animation. Hence in the fifth or sixth century the clause—'and he descended into Hades' was inserted ;—that is, the indissoluble principle of the man Jesus, was separated from, and left, the dissoluble, and subsisted apart in *Scheol*, or the abode of separated souls ;—but really meaning no more than *vere mortuus est*. Jesus was taken from the Cross dead in the very same sense in which the Baptist was dead after his beheading.

Nevertheless, well adapted as this Creed was to its purposes, I cannot but regret the high place and precedence which by means of its title, and the fable to which that title gave rise, it has usurped. It has, as it appears to me, indirectly favoured Arianism and Socinianism.

Ibid. p. 250.

That St. John wrote his Gospel with a view to confute Cerinthus, among other false teachers, is attested first by Irenæus, who was a disciple of Polycarp, and who flourished within less than a century of St. John's time.

I have little trust and no faith in the gossip and hearsay-anecdotes of the early Fathers, Irenæus not excepted. 'Within less than a century of St John's time.' Alas ! a century in the paucity of writers and of men of education in the age succeeding the Apostolic, must be reckoned more than equal to five centuries since the use of printing. Suppose, however, the truth of the Irenæan tradition ;—that the Creed of Cerinthus was what Irenæus states it to have been ; and that John, at the instance of the Asiatic Bishops, wrote his Gospel as an antidote to the Cerinthian heresy ;—does there not thence arise, in his utter silence, an almost overwhelming argument against the Apostolicity of the *Christopædia*, both that prefixed to Luke, and that concorporated with Matthew ?

Ibid. p. 257.

In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The same Word was life, the λόγος and ζωή, both one. There was no occasion therefore for subtilly distinguishing the Word and Life into two Sons, as some did.

I will not deny the possibility of this interpretation.

It may be,—nay, it is,—fairly deducible from the words of the great Evangelist: but I cannot help thinking that, taken as the primary intention, it degrades this most divine chapter, which unites in itself the three characters of sublime, profound, and pregnant, and alloys its universality by a mixture of time and accident.

Ibid.

And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness cometh not upon it. So I render the verse, conformable to the rendering of the same Greek verb, *καταλαμβάνω*, by our translators in another place of this same Gospel. The Apostle, as I conceive, in this 5th verse of his 1st chapter, alludes to the prevailing error of the Gentiles, &c.

O sad, sad ! How must the philosopher have been eclipsed by the shadow of antiquarian erudition, in order that a mind like Waterland's could have sacrificed the profound universal import of *comprehend* to an allusion to a worthless dream of heretical nonsense, the mushroom of the day ! Had Waterland ever thought of the relation of his own understanding to his reason ? But alas ! the identification of these two diversities—of how many errors has it been ground and occasion !

Ibid. p. 259.

And the Word was made flesh—became personally united with the man Jesus ; *and dwelt among us*,—resided constantly in the human nature so assumed.

Waterland himself did but dimly see the awful import of *ἐγένετο σὰρξ*—the mystery of the alien ground—and the truth, that as the ground such must be the life. He caused himself to *become flesh*,

and therein assumed a mortal life into his own person and unity, in order himself to transubstantiate the corruptible into the incorruptible.

Waterland's anxiety to show the anti-heretical force of St. John's Gospel and Epistles, has caused him to overlook their Catholicity—their applicability to all countries and all times—their truth, independently of all temporary accidents and errors ;—which Catholicity alone it is that constitutes their claim to Canonicity, that is, to be Canonical inspired writings.

Ibid. p. 266.

Hereupon therefore the Apostle in defence of Christ's real humanity says, *this is he that came by water and blood.*

'Water and blood,' that is *serum* and *crassamentum*, mean simply 'blood,' the blood of the animal or carnal life, which, saith Moses, *is the life*. Hence 'flesh' is often taken as, and indeed is a form of, the blood,—blood formed or organised. Thus 'blood' often includes 'flesh,' and 'flesh' includes 'blood.' 'Flesh and blood' is equivalent to blood in its twofold form, or rather as formed and formless. 'Water and blood' has, therefore, two meanings in St. John, but which *in idem coincidunt* :—1. true animal human blood, and no celestial ichor or phantom :—2. the whole sentiently vital body, fixed or flowing, the pipe and the stream. For the ancients, and especially the Jews, had no distinct apprehension of the use or action of the nerves : in the Old Testament 'heart' is used as we use 'head.' *The fool hath said in his heart*—is in English : "the worthless fellow (*vaurien*) hath taken it into his head," &c.

Ibid. p. 268.

The Apostle having said that the Spirit is truth, or essential truth, (which was giving him a title common to God the Father and to Christ,) &c.

Is it clear that the distinct *hypostasis* of the Holy Spirit, in the same sense as the only-begotten Son is hypostatically distinguished from the Father, was a truth that formed an immediate object or intention of St. John? That it is a truth implied in, and fairly deducible from, many texts, both in his Gospel and Epistles, I do not, indeed I cannot, doubt;—but only whether this article of our faith he was commissioned to declare explicitly?

It grieves me to think that such giant *archaspistæ* of the Catholic Faith, as Bull and Waterland, should have clung to the intruded gloss (1 *John*, v. 7), which, in the opulence and continuity of the evidences, as displayed by their own master-minds, would have been superfluous, had it not been worse than superfluous, that is, senseless in itself, and interruptive of the profound sense of the Apostle.

Ibid. p. 272.

He is come, come in the flesh, and not merely to reside for a time, or occasionally, and to fly off again, but to abide and dwell with man, clothed with humanity.

Incautiously worded at best. Compare our Lord's own declaration to his disciples, that he had dwelt a brief while *with* or *among* them, in order to dwell *in* them permanently.

Ibid. p. 286.

It is very observable, that the Ebionites rejected three of the Gospels, receiving only St. Matthew's (or what they called

so), and that curtailed. They rejected likewise all St. Paul's writings, reproaching him as an apostate. How unlikely is it that Justin should own such reprobates as those were for fellow-Christians !

I dare avow my belief—or rather I dare not withhold my avowal—that both Bull and Waterland are here hunting on the trail of an old blunder or figment, concocted by the gross ignorance of the Gentile Christians and their Fathers in all that respected Hebrew literature and the Palestine Christians. I persist in the belief that, though a refuse of the persecuted and from neglect degenerating Jew-Christians may have sunk into the mean and carnal notions of their unconverted brethren respecting the Messiah, no proper sect of Ebionites ever existed, but those to whom St. Paul travelled with the contributions of the churches, nor any such man as Ebion; unless indeed it was St. Barnabas, who in his humility may have so named himself, while soliciting relief for the distressed Palestine Christians ;—‘ I am Barnabas the beggar.’ But I will go further, and confess my belief that the (so-called) Ebionites of the first and second centuries, who rejected the *Christopædia*, and whose Gospel commenced with the baptism by John, were orthodox Apostolic Christians, who received Christ as the Lord, that is, as *Jehovah manifested in the flesh*. As to their rejection of the other Gospels and of Paul's writings, I might ask :—‘ Could they read them ?’ But the whole notion seems to rest on an anachronical misconception of the *Evangelia*. Every great mother Church, at first, had its own Gospel.

Ibid. p. 288.

To say nothing here of the truer reading (“ men of your nation ”) there is no consequence in the argument. The

Ebionites were Christians in a large sense, men of Christian profession, nominal Christians, as Justin allowed the worst of heretics to be. And this is all he could mean by allowing the Ebionites to be Christians.

I agree with Bull in holding ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑμετέρου γένους the most probable reading in the passage cited from Justin, and am by no means convinced that the celebrated passage in Josephus is an interpolation. But I do not believe that such men, as are here described, ever professed themselves Christians, or were, or could have been, baptised.

Ibid. p. 292.

Le Clerc would appear to doubt, whether the persons pointed to in Justin really denied Christ's divine nature or no. It is as plain as possible that they did.

Le Clerc is no favourite of mine, and Waterland is a prime favourite. Nevertheless, in this instance, I too doubt with Le Clerc, and more than doubt.

Ibid. p. 338.

Φύσει δὲ τῆς φθορᾶς προσγενομένης, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὅτι σῶσαι βουλόμενος ᾗ τὴν φθοροποιὸν οὐσίαν ἀφανίσας· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἰτέρως γενέσθαι εἰ μήπερ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ζωὴ προσεπλάκη τῇ τὴν φθορὰν δεξαμένῳ, ἀφανίζουσα μὲν τὴν φθορὰν, ἀθανατὸν δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ δεξάμενον διατηροῦσα. κ.τ.λ.—Just. M.

Here Justin asserts that it was necessary for essential life, or life by nature, to be united with human nature, in order to save it.

Waterland has not mastered the full force of ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ζωή. If indeed he had taken in the full force of the whole of this invaluable fragment, he would never have complimented the following extract from Irenæus, as saying the same thing 'in

fuller and stronger words.' Compared with the fragment from Justin, it is but the flat common-place logic of analogy, so common in the early Fathers.

Ibid. p. 340.

*Qui nude tantum hominem cum dicunt ex Joseph generatum
* * moriuntur.*

Non nude hominem—not a mere man do I hold Jesus to have been and to be; but a perfect man and, by personal union with the Logos, perfect God. That his having an earthly father might be requisite to his being a perfect man I can readily suppose; but why the having an earthly father should be more incompatible with his perfect divinity, than his having an earthly mother I cannot comprehend. All that John and Paul believed, God forbid that I should not!

Chap. VII. p. 389.

It is a sufficient reason for not receiving either them (*Arian doctrines*), or the interpretations brought to support them, that the ancients, in the best and purest times, either knew nothing of them, or if they did, condemned them.

As excellent means of raising a presumption in the mind of the falsehood of Arianism and Socinianism, and thus of preparing the mind for a docile reception of the great idea itself—I admit and value the testimonies from the writings of the early Fathers. But alas! the increasing dimness, ending in the final want of the idea of this all-truths-including truth of the Tetractys eternally manifested in the Triad;—this, this is the ground and cause of all the main heresies from Semi-Arianism, recalled by Dr. Samuel Clarke, to the last setting ray of departing faith in the necessitarian Psilanthropism of Dr. Priestley.

Ibid. p. 412, &c.

I cannot but think that Waterland's defence of the Fathers in these pages against Barbeyrac, is below his great powers and characteristic vigour of judgment. It is enough that they, the Fathers of the first three centuries, were the lights of their age, and worthy of all reverence for their good gifts. But it appears to me impossible to deny their credulity; their ignorance, with one or two exceptions, in the interpretation of the Old Testament; or their hardihood in asserting the truth of whatever they thought it for the interest of the Church, and for the good of souls, to have believed as true. A whale swallowed Jonah; but a believer in all the assertions and narrations of Tertullian and Irenæus would be more wonder-working than Jonah; for such a one must have swallowed whales.

NOTES ON SKELTON.

1825.

—♦—
Burdy's Life of Skelton, p. 22.

She lived until she was a hundred and five. The omission of his prayers on the morning it happened, he supposed ever after to be the cause of this unhappy accident. So early was his mind impressed with a lively sense of religious duty.

In anecdotes of this kind, and in the instances of eminently good men, it is that my head and heart

* The Complete Works of the late Rev. Philip Skelton, Rector of Fintona. 6 vols. 8vo. London, 1824.—*Ed.*

have their most obstinate falls out. The question is :—To what extent the undoubted subjective truth may legitimately influence our judgment as to the possibility of the objective.

Ibid. p. 67.

The Bishop then gave him the living of Pettigo in a wild part of the county of Donegal, having made many removals on purpose to put him in that savage place, among mountains, rocks, and heath, * * *. When he got this living he had been eighteen years curate of Monaghan, and two of Newtown-Butler, during which time he saw, as he told me, many illiterate boys put over his head, and highly preferred in the Church without having served a cure.

Though I have heard of one or two exceptions stated in proof that nepotism is not yet extinct among our Prelates, yet it is impossible to compare the present condition of the Church, and the disposal of its dignities and emoluments with the facts recorded in this Life, without an honest exultation.

Ibid. p. 106.

He once declared to me that he would resign his living, if the Athanasian Creed were removed from the Prayer Book ; and I am sure he would have done so.

Surely there was more zeal than wisdom in this declaration. Does the Athanasian or rather the *pseudo*-Athanasian Creed differ from the Nicene, or not ? If not, it must be dispensable at least, if not superfluous. If it does differ, which of the two am I to follow ;—the profession of an anonymous individual, or the solemn decision of upwards of three hundred Bishops convened from all parts of the Christian world ?

Vol. I. pp. 177—180.

No problem more difficult or of more delicate treatment than the *criteria* of miracles ; yet none on which young divines are fonder of displaying their gifts. Nor is this the worst. Their charity too often goes to wreck from the error of identifying the faith in Christ with the arguments by which they think it is to be supported. But surely if two believers meet at the same goal of faith, it is a very secondary question whether they travelled thither by the same road of argument. In this and other passages of Skelton, I recognise and reverence a vigorous and robust intellect ; but I complain of a turbidness in his reasoning, a huddle in his sequence, and here and there a semblance of arguing in a circle, from the miracle to the doctrine, and from the doctrine to the miracle. Add to this a too little advertency to the distinction between the evidence of a miracle for A, an eye-witness, and for B, for whom it is the relation of a miracle by an asserted eye-witness ; and again between B, and X, Y, Z, for whom it is a fact of history. The result of my own meditations is, that the evidence of the Gospel, taken as a total, is as great for the Christians of the nineteenth century, as for those of the Apostolic age. I should not be startled if I were told it was greater. But it does not follow, that this equally holds good of each component part. An evidence of the most cogent clearness, unknown to the primitive Christians, may compensate for the evanescence of some evidence, which they enjoyed. Evidences comparatively dim have waxed into noon-day splendour ; and the comparative wane of others, once effulgent, is more than indemnified by the *synopsis τοῦ πάντος*, which we enjoy, and by the standing miracle of a Christendom commensurate

and almost synonymous with the civilised world. I make this remark for the purpose of warning the divinity student against the disposition to overstrain particular proofs, or rest the credibility of the Gospel too exclusively on some one favourite point. I confess that I cannot peruse page 179 without fancying that I am reading some Romish Doctor's work, dated from a community where miracles are the ordinary news of the day.

P. S. By the by, the Rev. Philip Skelton is of the true Irish breed ; that is, a brave fellow, but a bit of a bully. 'Arrah, by St. Pathrick ! but I shall make cold mutton of you, Misther Arian.'

Ibid. p. 182.

If in this he appears to deal fairly by us, proving such things as admit of it, by reason ; and such as do not, by the authority of his miracles, &c.

Are *we* likely to have miracles performed or pretended before our eyes ? If not, what may all this mean ? If Skelton takes for granted the veracity of the Evangelists, and the precise verity of the Gospels, the truth and genuineness of the miracles is included : and if not, what does he prove ? The exact accordance of the miracles related with the ideal of a true miracle in the reason, does indeed furnish an argument for the probable truth of the relation. But this does not seem to be Skelton's intention.

Ibid. p. 185.

But to remedy this evil, as far as the nature of the thing will permit, a genuine record of the true religion must be kept up, that its articles may not be in danger of total corruption in such a sink of opinions.

Anything rather than seek a remedy in that which

Scripture itself declares the only one. Alas! these bewilderments (the Romanists urge) have taken place especially through and by the misuse of the Scriptures. Whatever God has given, we ought to think necessary;—the Scriptures, the Church, the Spirit. Why disjoin them?

Ibid. p. 186.

Now a perpetual miracle, considered as the evidence of any thing, is nonsense; because were it at first ever so apparently contrary to the known course of nature, it must in time be taken for the natural effect of some unknown cause, as all physical *phænomena*, if far enough traced, always are; and consequently must fall into a level, as to a capacity of proving any thing, with the most ordinary appearances of nature, which, though all of them miracles, as to the primary cause of their production, can never be applied to the proof of an inspiration, because ordinary and common.

I doubt this, though I have no doubt that it would be pernicious. The yearly blossoming of Aaron's rod is against Skelton, who confounds single facts with classes of *phænomena*, and he draws his conclusion from an arbitrary and, as seems to me, senseless definition of a miracle.

Ibid. p. 214. End of Discourse II.

Skelton appears to have confounded two errors very different in kind and in magnitude;—that of the Infidel, against whom his arguments are with few exceptions irrefragable; and that of the Christian, who, sincerely believing the Law, the Prophecies, the miracles and the doctrines, all in short which in the Scriptures themselves is declared to have been revealed, does not attribute the same immediate divinity to all and every part of the remainder. It would doubtless be

more Christian-like to substitute the views expressed in the next Discourse (III.); but still the latter error is not as the former.

Ibid. p. 234.

But why should not the conclusion be given up, since it is possible Christ may have had two natures in him, so as to have been less than the Father in respect to the one, and equal to him in respect to the other.

I understand these words (*My Father is greater than I*) of the divinity—and of the Filial subordination, which does not in the least encroach on the equality necessary to the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit. Bishop Bull does the same. See too Skelton's own remarks in Discourse V. p. 265.

Ibid. p. 251.

This was necessary, because their Law was ordained by angels.

Now this is an instance of what I cannot help regarding as a superstitious excess of reverence for single texts. We know that long before the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, the Alexandrian Church, which by its intercourse with Greek philosophers, chiefly Platonists, had become ashamed of the humanities of the Hebrew Scriptures, in defiance of those Scriptures had pretended, that it was not the Supreme Being who gave the Law in person to Moses, but some of his angels. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, arguing *ad homines*, avails himself of this, in order to prove that on their own grounds the Mosaic was of dignity inferior to the Christian dispensation. To get rid of this no-difficulty in a single verse or two in the Epistles,

Skelton throws an insurmountable difficulty on the whole Mosaic history.

Ibid. p. 265.

Therefore, he saith, *I* (as a man) *can of myself do nothing.*

Even of this text I do not see the necessity of Skelton's parenthesis (as a man.) Nay it appears to me (I confess) to turn a sublime and most instructive truth into a truism 'But if not as the Son of God, therefore *à fortiori* not as the Son of man, and more especially, as such, in all that refers to the redemption of mankind.'

Ibid. p. 267.

To this glory Christ, as God, was entitled from all eternity; but did not acquire a right to it as man, till he had paid the purchase by his blood.

I too hold this for a most important truth; but yet could wish it to have been somewhat differently expressed; as thus:—'but did not acquire it as man till the means had been provided and perfected by his blood.'

Ibid. p. 268.

If Christ in one place, (*John* xiv. 28,) says, *My Father is greater than I*; he must be understood of his relation to the Father as his Son, born of a woman.

I do not see the necessity of this: does not Christ say, *My Father and I will come, and we will dwell in you?* Nay, I dare confidently affirm that in no one passage of St. John's Gospel is our Lord declared in any special sense the Son of the First Person of the Trinity in reference to his birth from a woman. And remember it is from St. John's Gospel that the

words are cited. So too the answer to Philip ought to be interpreted by ch. i. 18, of the same Gospel.

Ibid. p. 276.

I confess I do not agree with Skelton's interpretation of any of these texts entirely. Because I hold the Nicene Faith, and revere the doctrine of the Trinity as the fundamental article of Christianity, I apply to Christ as the Second Person, almost all the texts which Skelton explains of his humanity. At all events I consider *the first-born of every creature* as a false version of the words, which (as the argument and following verse prove) should be rendered *begotten before*, (or rather *superlatively before*), *all that was created or made ; for by him they were made.*

Ibid.

Of that day, and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

I cannot explain myself here; but I have long thought that our Saviour meant in these words ἀνέκτιστον τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ — and that like the problem proposed by him to the Scribes, they were intended to prepare the minds of the disciples for this awful mystery—ἐἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ—'unless, or if not, as the Father knows it;' while in St. Matthew the equivalent sense is given by the omission of the οὐδ' ὁ υἱός, and its inclusion in the Father. *As the Father knoweth me, so know I the Father.*

It would have been against the general rule of Scripture prophecies, and the intention of the revelation in Christ, that the first Christians should have been so influenced in their measures and par-

ticular actions, as they could not but have been by a particular foreknowledge of the express and precise time at which Jerusalem was to be destroyed. To reconcile them to this uncertainty, our Lord first teaches them to consider this destruction the close of one great epoch, or *αἰών*, as the type of the final close of the whole world of time, that is, of all temporal things; and then reasons with them thus:—‘Wonder not that I should leave you ignorant of the former, when even the highest order of heavenly intelligences know not the latter, οὐδ’ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ; nor should I myself, but that the Father knows it, all whose will is essentially known to me as the Eternal Son. But even to me it is not revealably communicated.’ Such seems to me the true sense of this controverted passage in Mark, and that it is borne out by many parallel texts in St. John, and that the correspondent text in Matthew, which omits the οὐδ’ ὁ υἱός, conveys the same sense in equivalent terms, the word *ἐμοῦ* including the Son in the *πατήρ μόνος*. For to his only-begotten Son before all time the Father sheweth all things.

Ibid. p. 279.

But whether we can reconcile these words to our belief of Christ’s prescience and divinity, or not, matters little to the debate about his divinity itself; since we can so fully prove it by innumerable passages of Scripture, too direct, express, and positive, to be balanced by one obscure passage, from whence the Arian is to draw the consequence himself, which may possibly be wrong.

Very good.

Ibid. p. 280.

We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are

in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.—1 John v. 20. The whole connection evidently shows the words to be spoken of Christ.

That the words comprehend Christ is most evident. All that can be fairly concluded from 1 Cor. viii. 6, is this :—that the Apostles, Paul and John, speak of the Father as including and comprehending the Son and the Holy Ghost, as his Word and his Spirit; but of these as inferring or supposing the Father, not comprehending him. Whenever, therefore, respecting the Godhead itself, containing both deity and dominion, the term God is distinctively used, it is applied to the Father, and Lord to the Son.

Ibid. p. 281.

But, farther, it is objected that Christ cannot be God, since God calls him *his servant* more than once, particularly *Isaiah* xlii. 1.

The Prophets often speak of the anti-type, or person typified, in language appropriate to, and suggested by, the type itself. So, perhaps, in this passage, if, as I suppose, Hezekiah was the type immediately present to Isaiah's imagination. However, Skelton's answer is quite sufficient.

Ibid. p. 287.

Hence it appears, that in the passage objected (1 Cor. xv. 24, &c.) Christ is spoken of purely as that Man whom God had highly exalted, and to whom he had given a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow. (Phil. ii. 9, 10.)

I must confess that this exposition does not quite satisfy me. I cannot help thinking that something more and deeper was meant by the Apostle; and this

must be sought for in the mystery of the Trinity itself, *in which (mystery) all treasures of knowledge are hidden.*

Ibid. p. 318.

Hence, perhaps, may be best explained what St. Peter says in the second Epistle, after pleading a miracle. *We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto you do well that you take heed.*

I believe that St. Peter neither said it, nor meant this; but that βεβαιότερον follows *the prophetic word*. We have also the word of prophecy more firm;—that is; we have, in addition to the evidence of the miracles themselves, this further confirmation, that they are the fulfilment of known prophecies.

Ibid. p. 327.

Agreeable to these passages of the Prophet, St. Peter tells us (*Acts* x. 38), *God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and power.*

I have often to complain that too little attention is paid by commentators to the history and particular period in which certain speeches were delivered, or words written. Could St. Peter with propriety have introduced the truth to a prejudiced audience with its deepest mysteries? Must he not have begun with the most evident facts?

Ibid. Disc. VIII

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity vindicated.

Were I a Clergyman, the paragraphs from p. 366 to p. 370, both inclusive, of this Discourse should form the conclusion of my Sermon on Trinity Sunday,

whether I preached at St. James's, or in a country village.

Ibid. pp. 374—378.

As a reason why we should doubt our own judgment, it is quite fair to remind the objector, that the same difficulty occurs in the scheme of God's ordinary providence. But that a difficulty in a supposed article of revealed truth is solved by the occurrence of the same or of an equivalent difficulty in the common course of human affairs—this I find it hard to conceive. How was the religious, as distinguished from the moral, sense first awakened? What made the human soul feel the necessity of a faith in God, but the apparent incongruity of certain dispensations in this world with the idea of God, with the law written in the heart? Is not the reconciling of these facts or *phænomena* with the divine attributes, one of the purposes of a revealed religion? But even this is not a full statement of the defect complained of in this solution. A difficulty which may be only apparent (like that other of the prosperity of the wicked) is solved by the declaration of its reality! A difficulty grounded on the fact of temporal and outward privations and sufferings, is solved by being infinitely increased, that is, by the assertion of the same principle on the determination of our inward and everlasting weal and woe. That there is nothing in the Christian faith or in the Canonical Scriptures, when rightly interpreted, that requires such an argument, or sanctions the recourse to it, I believe myself to have proved in the Aids to Reflection. For observe that 'to solve' has a scientific, and again a religious sense, and that in the latter, a difficulty is satisfactorily solved, as soon as its insolubility for the human mind is proved and accounted for.

Ibid. Disc. XIV. pp. 500—502.

Christianity proved by Miracles.

I cannot see and never could, the purpose, or *cui bono*, of this reasoning. To whom is it addressed? To a man who denies a God, or that God can reveal his will to mankind? If such a man be not below talking to, he must first be convinced of his miserable blindness respecting these truths: for these are clearly presupposed in every proof of miracles generally.

Again, does he admit the authenticity of the Gospels, and the veracity of the Evangelists? Does he credit the facts there related, and as related? If not, these points must be proved; for these are clearly presupposed in all reasoning on the particular miracles of the Christian dispensation. If he does, can he deny that many acts of Christ were wonderful;—that reanimating a dead body in which putrefaction had already commenced,—and feeding four thousand men with a few loaves and fishes, so that the fragments left greatly exceeded the original total quantity,—were wonderful events? Should such a man, *compos mentis*, exist, (which I more than doubt,) what could a wise man do but stare—and leave him? Christ wrought many wonderful works, implying admirable power, and directed to the most merciful and beneficent ends; and these acts were such signs of his divine mission, as rendered inattention or obstinate averseness to the truths and doctrines which he promulgated, inexcusable, and indeed on any hypothesis but that of immoral dispositions and prejudices, utterly inconceivable. In what respect, I pray, can this statement be strengthened by any reasoning about the nature and distinctive essence of miracles *in abstracto*? What

purpose can be answered by any pretended definition of a miracle? If I met with a disputatious word-catcher or logomachist, who sought to justify his unbelief on this ground, I should not hesitate to say—‘Never mind whether it is a miracle or no. Call it what you will;—but do you believe the fact? Do you believe that Christ did by force of his will and word multiply instantaneously twelve loaves and a few small fishes, into sufficient food for a hungering multitude of four thousand men and women?’ When I meet with, or from credible authority hear of, a man who believes this fact, and yet thinks it no sign of Christ’s mission; when I can even conceive of a man in his right senses who, believing all the facts and events related in the New Testament, and as there related, does yet remain a Deist, I may think it time to enter into a disquisition respecting the right definition of a miracle; and meantime, I humbly trust that believing with my whole heart and soul in the wonderful works of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall not forfeit my title of Christian, though I should not subscribe to this or that divine’s right definition of his ‘*idea*’ of a miracle; which word is with me no *idea* at all, but a general term; the common surname, as it were, of the wonderful works wrought by the messengers of God to man in the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations.

It is to these notions and general definitions, far more than to the facts themselves, that the arguments of Infidels apply; and from which they derive their plausibility. Nor is this all. The Infidel imitates the divine, and adopts the same mode of arguing, namely, by this substantiation of mere general or collective terms. For instance, Hume’s argument (stated, by the by, before he was born, and far more forcibly, by Dr. South, who places it in the

mouth of Thomas,)*—reduce it to the particular facts in question, and its whole speciousness vanishes. I am speaking of the particular facts and actions of the Gospel; of those, and those only. Now that I should be deceived, or the eye-witnesses have been deceived, under all the circumstances of those miracles, with all antecedents, accompaniments and consequents, is quite as contrary to, that is, unparalleled in my experience, as the return to life of a dead man.

So again in the second paragraph of page 502,† the position is true or false according to the definition of a miracle. In the narrower sense of the term, miracle,—that is, a consequent presented to the outward senses without an adequate antecedent, *ejusdem generis*,—it is not only false but detractory from the Christian religion. It is a main, nay, an indispensable evidence; but it is not the only, no, nor if comparison be at all allowable, the highest and most efficient; unless, indeed, the term evidence is itself confined to grounds of conviction offered to the senses, but then the position is a mere truism.

There is yet another way of reasoning, which I utterly dislike; namely, by putting imaginary cases of imaginary miracles, as Paley has done. ‘If a dozen different individuals, all men of known sense and integrity, should each independently of the other pledge their everlasting weal on the truth, that they saw a man beheaded and quartered, and that on a certain person’s prayer or bidding, the quarters re-united, and then a new head grew on and from

* See South’s Works, vol. iii. p. 500. Clarendon edit. 1823.—*Ed.*

† But it will be proper to observe, that it strikes directly at the very root of Revelation, which cannot possibly give any other evidence of itself, as the dictate of God, but what must be drawn from miracles, wrought to prove the divine mission of those who publish it to the world.

out of the stump of the neck : and should the man himself assure you of the same, show you the junctures, and identify himself to you by some indelible mark, with which you had been previously acquainted,—could you withstand this evidence ?' What could a judicious man reply but—' When such an event takes place, I will tell you ; but what has this to do with the reasons for our belief in the truth of the written records of the Old and New Testament ? Why do you fly off from the facts to a gigantic fiction,—when the possibility of the *If* with respect to a much less startling narration is the point in dispute between us ?'

Such and so peculiar, and to an honest mind so unmistakeable is the character of veracity and simplicity on the very countenance, as it were, of the Gospel, that every remove of the inquirer's attention from the facts themselves is a remove of his conversion. It is your business to keep him from wandering, not to set him the example.

Never, surely, was there a more unequal writer than Skelton ;—in the discourses on the Trinity, the compeer of Bull and Waterland ; and yet the writer of these pages, 500—501 ! Natural magic ! a stroke of art ! for example, converting the Nile into blood ! And then his definition of a miracle. Suspension of the laws of nature ! suspension—laws—nature ! Bless me ! a chapter would be required for the explanation of each several word of this definition, and little less than omniscience for its application in any one instance. An effect presented to the senses without any adequate antecedent, *ejusdem generis*, is a miracle in the philosophic sense. Thus, the corporeal ponderable hand and arm raised with no other known causative antecedent, but a thought, a pure act of an immaterial essentially invisible imponderable

will, is a miracle for a reflecting mind. Add the words *præter experientiam*: and we have the definition of a miracle in the popular, practical, and appropriated sense.

Vol. III.

That all our thoughts and views respecting our Faith should be consistent with each other, and with the attributes of God, is most highly desirable; but when the great diversities of men's understandings, and the unavoidable influence of circumstances on the mind, are considered, we may hope from the Divine mercy, that the agreement in the result will suffice; and that he who sincerely and efficiently believes that Christ left the glory which he had with the Father before all worlds, to become man and die for our salvation,—that by him we may, and by him alone we can, be saved,—will be held a true believer, —whether he interprets the words 'sacrifice,' 'purchase,' 'bargain,' 'satisfaction,' of the creditor by full payment of the 'debt,' and the like as proper and literal expressions of the redeeming act and the cause of our salvation, as Skelton seems to have done;—or (as I do) as figurative language truly designating the effects and consequences of this adorable act and process.

Ibid. p. 393.

But were the prospect of a better parish, in case of greater diligence, set before him by his Bishop, on the music of such a promise, like one bit by a *tarantula*, we should probably soon see him in motion, and serving God (O shameful!) for the sake of Mammon, as if his torpid body had been animated anew by a returning soul.

Without any high-flying in Christian morality, I

cannot keep shrinking from the wish here expressed; at all events, I cannot sympathise with, or participate in, the expectation of "an infinite advancement" from men so motivated.

Ibid. p. 394.

Yet excommunication, the inherent discipline of the Church, which it exercised under persecution, which it is still permitted to exercise under the present establishment.

Rarely I suspect, without exposing the Clergyman to the risk of an action for damages, or some abuse. There are few subjects that more need investigation, yet require more vigour and soundness of judgment to be rightly handled, than this of Christian discipline in a Church established by law. It is indeed a most difficult and delicate problem, and supplied Baxter with a most plausible and to me the only perplexing of his numerous objections to our Ecclesiastical Constitution. On the other hand, I saw clearly that he was requiring an impossibility; and that his argument carried on to its proper consequences concluded against all Church Establishment, not more against the National Church of which he complained, than the one of his own clipping and shaping which he would have substituted; consequently, every proof (and I saw many and satisfactory proofs) of the moral and political necessity of an Established Church, was at the same time a pledge that a deeper insight would detect some flaw in the reasoning of the Disciplinarians. For if A. be right and requisite, B., which is incompatible with A., cannot be rightly required. And this it was that first led me to the distinction between the *Ecclesia* and an *Enclesia*, concerning which see my Essay on Establishment and Dissent, in which I have met the

objection to my position, that Christian discipline is incompatible with a Church established by law, from the fact of the discipline of the Church of Scotland.* Who denies that it is in the power of a legislature to punish certain offences by ignominy, and to make the clergy magistrates in reference to these? The question is, whether it is wise or expedient, which it may be, or rather may have been, in Scotland, and the contrary in England? Wise or unwise, this is not discipline, not Christian discipline, enforced only by spiritual motives, enacted by spiritual authority, and submitted to for conscience' sake.

Ibid. p. 446.

Be this as it may, the foreknowledge and the decree were both eternal. Here now it is a clear point that the moral actions of all accountable agents were, with certainty, fore-known, and their doom unalterably fixed, long before any one of them existed.

Strange that so great a man as Skelton should first affirm eternity of both, yet in the next sentence talk of 'long before.' These Reflections† are excellent, but here Skelton offends against his own canons. I should feel no reluctance, moral or speculative, in accepting the apparent necessity of both propositions, as a sufficient reason for believing both; and the transcendancy of the subject as a sufficient solution of their apparent incompatibility. But yet I think that another view of the subject, not less congruous with universal reason and more agreeable to the light of reason in the human understanding,

* The Editor is not aware of the existence of the Essay here mentioned. But see for the distinction of the *Eccleria* and *Enclesia*, the Church and State, 3rd edit.—*Ed.*

† On Predestination, as far as p. 445.

might be defended, without detracting from any perfection of the Divine Being. Nay, I think that Skelton needed but one step more to have seen it.

Ibid. p. 478.

In fine.

To what purpose were these Reflections, taken as a whole, written? I cannot answer. To dissuade men from reasoning on a subject beyond our faculties? Then why all this reasoning?

Vol. IV. p. 28. Deism Revealed.

Shepherd. Were you ever at Constantinople, Sir?

Dechaine. Never.

Shep. Yet I believe you have no more doubt there is such a city, than that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones.

Temp. I am sure I have not.

Dech. Nor I; but what then?

Shep. Pray, Mr. Dechaine, did you see Julius Cæsar assassinated in the Capitol?

Dech. A pretty question! No, indeed, Sir.

Shep. Have you any doubts about the truth of what is told us by the historians concerning that memorable transaction?

Dech. Not the least.

Shep. Pray, is it either self-evident or demonstrable to you, at this time and place, that there is any such city as Constantinople, or that there ever was such a man as Cæsar?

Dech. By no means.

Shep. And you have all you know concerning the being of either the city, or the man, merely from the report of others, who had it from others, and so on, through many links of tradition?

Dech. I have.

Shep. You see then, that there are certain cases, in which

the evidence of things not seen nor either sensibly or demonstrably perceived, can justly challenge so entire an assent, that he who should pretend to refuse it in the fullest measure of acquiescence, would be deservedly esteemed the most stupid or perverse of mankind.

That there is a sophism here, every one must feel in the very fact of being *non-plus'd* without being convinced. The sophism consists in the instance being *haud ejusdem generis* (ἐλεγχος μεταβάσεως εἰς ἄλλο γένος;) and what the allogeneity is between the assurance of the being of Madrid or Constantinople, and the belief of the fact of the resurrection of Christ, I have shown elsewhere. The universal belief of the *tyrannicidium* of Julius Cæsar is doubtless a fairer instance, but the whole mode of argument is unsound and unsatisfying. Why run off from the fact in question, or the class at least to which it belongs? The victory can be but accidental—a victory obtained by the unguarded logic, or want of logical foresight of the antagonist, who needs only narrow his positions to narrations of facts and events; in our judgment of which we are not aided by the analogy of previous and succeeding experience, to deprive you of the opportunity of skirmishing thus on No Man's land. But this is Skelton's ruling passion, sometimes his strength—too often his weakness. He must force the reader to believe: or rather he has an antagonist, a wilful infidel or heretic always and exclusively before his imagination; or if he thinks of the reader at all, it is as of a partisan enjoying every hard thump, and smashing *fister* he gives the adversary whom Skelton hates too cordially to endure to obtain any thing from him with his own liking. No! It must be against his will, and in spite of it. No thanks to him—the dog could not help himself! How much more effectual would he have found it to

have commenced by placing himself in a state of sympathy with the supposed sceptic or unbeliever;—to have stated to him his own feelings, and the real grounds on which they rested;—to have shown himself the difference between the historical facts which the sceptic takes for granted and believes spontaneously, as it were,—and those, which are to be the subject of discussion; and this brings the question at once to the proof. And here, after all, lies the strength of Skelton's reasoning, which would have worked far more powerfully, had it come first and single, and with the whole attention directed towards it.

Ibid. p. 35.

Templeton. Surely the resurrection of Christ, or any other man, cannot be a thing impossible with God. It is neither above his power, nor, when employed for a sufficient purpose, inconsistent with his majesty, wisdom, and goodness.

This is the ever open and vulnerable part of Deism. The Deist, as a Deist, believes, *implicite* at least, so many and stupendous miracles as to render his disbelief of lesser miracles, simply because they are miraculous, gross inconsistencies. To have the battle fairly fought out, Spinoza, or a Bhuddist, or a Burmese Gymnosoph, should be challenged. Then, I am deeply persuaded, would the truth appear in full evidence, that no Christ, no God,—and, conversely, if the Father, then the Son. I can never too often repeat, that revealed religion is a pleonasm. Religion is revelation, and revelation the only religion.

Ibid. p. 37.

Shep. Those believers, whose faith is to rely on the truth of the Christian history, rest their assent on a written

report made by eye-witnesses; which report the various Churches and sects, jealous of one another, took care to preserve genuine and uncorrupted, at least in all material points, and all the religious writers in every age since have amply attested.

A divine of the present day who shall undertake the demonstration of the truth of Christianity by external evidences, or historically, must not content himself with assuming or asserting this. He must either prove it; or prove that such proof is not necessary. I myself should be quite satisfied if I proved the former position in respect to the fourth Gospel, and showed that the evidence of the other three was equivalent to a record by an eye-witness: which would not be at all inconsistent with my contending at the same time for the authenticity of the first Gospel, or rather for the Catholic interpretation of the title-words *Karà Marθaïon*, as the more probable opinion, which a sound divine will neither abandon nor overload, neither place it in the foundation, nor on the other hand suffer it to be extruded from the wall. Believe me, there is great, very great, danger in these broad unqualified assertions that Skelton deals in. Even though the balance of evidence should be on his side, yet the inquirer will be unfavourably affected by the numerous doubts and difficulties which an acquaintance with the more modern works of Biblical criticism will pour upon him, and for which his mind is wholly unprepared. To meet with a far weaker evidence than we had taken it for granted we were to find, gives the same shake to the mind, that missing a stair gives to the body.

Ibid. p. 243.

Temp. You, Mr. Dechaine, seem to forget that God is just; and you, Mr. Shepherd, that he is merciful.

Dech. I insist, that, as God is merciful, he will forgive.

Shep. And I insist, that, as he is just, he will punish.

Temp. Pray Mr. Dechaine, are you able, upon the Deistical scheme to rid yourself of this difficulty?

Dech. I see no difficulty in it at all. God gives us laws only for our good, and will never suffer those laws to become a snare to us, and the occasion of our eternal misery.

Here is the *cardo*! The man of sense asserts that it is necessary for the good of all, that a code of laws should exist, while yet it is impossible that all should at all times be obeyed by each person: but what is impossible cannot be required. Nevertheless, it may be required that no *iota* of any one of these laws should be wilfully and deliberately transgressed, nor is there any one for the transgression of which the transgressor must not hold himself punishable. 'And yet' (says our man of sense,) 'what may not be said of any one point, or any one moment, cannot be denied of the collective agency of a whole life, or any considerable section of it. Here we find ourselves constrained by our best feelings to praise or condemn, to reward or punish, according as a great predominance of acts of obedience or disobedience, and a continued love of the better, or the lusting after the worst, manifests the maxim (*regula maxima*,) the radical will and proper character of the individual. So parents judge of their children; so schoolmasters of their scholars; so friends of friends, and even so will God judge his creatures, if we are to trust in our common sense, or believe the repeated declarations in the Old Testament.' And now I should be glad to hear any satisfactory *sensible* reply to this, or any answer that does not fly higher than *sense* can follow,

and pierce into 'the thick clouds' of decried metaphysics! For no fair reply can be imagined, but one which would find the root of the moral evil, the true *πονηρόν*, in this very impossibility.

Ibid. p. 249.

Cunningham. But how does all this discourse about sacrifices and the natural light show that your faith does not ascribe injustice to God in putting an innocent person to death for the transgressions of the guilty?

Shep. Was Christ innocent?

Cunn. He was without sin.

Shep. And he was put to death by the appointment and predetermination of God?

Cunn. The Jews put him to death.

Shep. Do not evade the question. Was he not *the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*? Was he not *so delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, that the Jews, having taken him, by wicked hands crucified and slew him*?

Cunn. And what then?

Shep. Nothing; but that you are to answer, as well as I, for saying that God predetermined the death of this only innocent person.

I am less pleased with this volume than with any of the preceding. Ask your own heart and conscience whether (for instance,) they are satisfied with this defence *duri per durius*: or whether frightening a modest query into silence by perverting it into an accusation of the Almighty, by virtue of a conclusion borrowed from the Calvinistic theory of Predestination, is not more in the spirit of Job's comforters, than becomes a minister of the Apostolic Church of England and Ireland? Such arguments are but edge-tools at the safest, but more often they may rather be likened to the two-edged blade of Parysatis's

knife, the one of which was poisoned. Leave them to Calvin, or those who dare appropriate Calvin's words, that 'God's absolute will is the only rule of his justice;'—thus dividing the divine attributes. Yet Calvin himself distinguishes the hidden from the revealed God, even as the Greek Fathers distinguished the *θέλημα Θεοῦ*, the absolute ground of all being, from the *βουλή τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as the cause and disposing providence of all existence.

But I disapprove of the plan and spirit of this work, (Deism Revealed.) The coldhearted, worldly-minded, cunning Deist, or the coarse sensual Infidel, is of all men the least likely to be converted; and the conscientious, inquiring, though misled and perplexed Sceptic will throw aside a book at once, as not applicable to his case, which treats every doubt as a crime, and supposes that there is no doubt at all possible but in a bad heart and from wicked wishes. Compare this with St. Paul's language concerning the Jews.

So again pp. 225, &c. of this volume. Do not the plainest intuitions of our moral and rational being confirm the positions here attributed to the Deist, Dechaine? Are they not the same by which Melancthon de-Calvinised, at least de-Augustinised, the heroic Luther;—those which constitute one of the only two essential differences between the Augsburg Confession and the Calvinistic Articles of Faith? And can anything be more flittery and special-pleading than Skelton's objections? And again, p. 507, 'and that prayer which he (Tindal) is reported to have used a little before his death, "If there is a God, I desire he may have mercy on me;"'—was it Christian-like to publish and circulate a blind report—so improbable and disgusting, as to demand the strongest and most unsuspicious testimony for its reception?

Ibid. p. 268.

Shep. Pray, Mr. Dechaine, if a person, whom you knew to be an honest and clear-sighted man, should solemnly assure you he saw a dead man restored to life, what would you think of his testimony.

Dech. As I could not possibly have as strong an assurance of his honesty, clear-sightedness, and penetration, as of the great improbability of the fact, I should not believe him.

Shep. Well; it is true he might be deceived himself, or intend to impose on you. But in case ten such persons should all, at different times, confirm the same report, how would this affect you?

There is one inconvenience, not to say danger, in this argument of Mr. Shepherd's; namely, that of its not standing in the same force, when it comes to be repeated in the particular miraculous facts in support of which it is adduced.

Ibid. p. 281.

No other ancient book can be so well proved to have been the work of the author it is now ascribed to, as every book of the New Testament can be proved to have been written by him whose name it hath all along borne.

This is true to the full extent that the defence of the divinity of our religion needs, or perhaps permits, and I see no advantage gained by asserting more. I must lose all power of distinction, before I can affirm that the genuineness of the first Gospel, that in its present form it was written by Matthew, or is a literal translation of a Gospel written by him, rests on as strong external evidence as Luke's, or on as strong internal evidence as St. John's. Sufficient that the evidence greatly preponderates in its favor.

NOTES ON ANDREW FULLER'S CALVINISTIC
AND SOCINIAN SYSTEMS EXAMINED
AND COMPARED.* 1807.



Letter III. p. 38.

They (the Jews) did not deny that to be God's own Son was to be equal with the Father, nor did they allege that such an equality would destroy the divine unity: a thought of this kind never seems to have occurred to their minds.

IN so truly excellent a book as this is, I regret that this position should rest on an assertion. The equality of Christ would not, indeed, destroy the unity of God the Father, considered as one Person: but, unless we presume the Jews in question acquainted with the great truth of the Tri-unity, we must admit that it would be considered as implying Ditheism. Now that some among the Jews had made very near approaches, though blended with errors, to the doctrine taught in John, c. i., we can prove from the writings of Philo;—and the Socinians can never prove that these Jews did not know at least of the doctrine of their schools concerning the only-begotten Word—*Λόγος μονογενής*,—not as an attribute, much less as an abstraction or personification—but as a distinct *Hypostasis συμφυσική*:—and hence it might be shown that their offence was that the carpenter's son, the Galilean, should call himself the

* The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and compared, as to their moral tendency; in a series of Letters addressed to the friends of vital and practical religion; especially those amongst Protestant Dissenters. By Andrew Fuller. Market Harborough. 1793.

Θεὸς φανερός. This might have been rendered more than probable by the concluding sentence of Christ's answer to the disciples of John;—*and blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me* (Luke vii. 23.); which appears to have no adequate or even tolerable meaning, unless in reference to the passage in Isaiah, (lxi. 1, 2.) prophesying that Jehovah himself would come among them, and do the things which our Saviour states himself to have done. Thus, too, I regret that the answer of our Lord, (John x. 34—36.) being one of the imagined strong-holds of the Socinians, should not have been more fully cleared up. I doubt not that Fuller's is a true interpretation; and that no other is consistent with our Lord's various other declarations. But the words in and by themselves admit a more plausible misinterpretation than is elsewhere the case of Socinian displacements. In short, I think both passages would have been better deferred to a further part of the work.

Let me add that a mighty and comparatively new argument against the Socinians may be most unanswerably deduced from this reply of our Lord's, even were it considered as a mere *argumentum ad homines*:—namely, that it was not his Messiahship that so offended the Jews, but his Sonship; otherwise, our Saviour's language would have neither force, motive, or object. 'Even were I no more than the Messiah, in your meanest conceptions of that character, yet after what I have done before your eyes, nothing but malignant hearts could have prevented you from adopting a milder interpretation of my words, when in your own Scriptures there exists a precedent that so much more than merely justifies me.' And this I believe to be the meaning of the words as intended to be understood by the Jews in question; though, doubtless, Fuller's sense exists

implicite. No candid person would ever call it an evasion, to prove the injustice and malignity of an accuser even from his own grounds :—‘ You charge me falsely ; but even were your charge true, namely, that I am a mere man, and yet call myself the Son of God, still it would not follow that I have been guilty of blasphemy.’ But as understood by the modern Unicists, it would verily, verily, be an evasive ambiguity, most unworthy of Christian belief concerning his Saviour. Common charity would have demanded of him to have said :—‘ I am a mere man : I do not pretend to be more ; but I used the words in analogy to the words, *Ye are as Gods* ; and I have a right to do so : for though a mere man, I am the great Prophet and Messenger which Moses promised you.

Letter V. p. 72.

If Dr. Priestley had formed his estimate of human virtue by that great standard which requires love to God with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves,—instead of representing men by nature as having ‘ more virtue than vice,’—he must have acknowledged with the Scripture, that *the whole world lieth in wickedness—that every thought and imagination of their heart is only evil continually*—and that *there is none of them that doeth good, no not one*.

To this the Unicists would answer, that by *the whole world* is meant all the worldly-minded ;—no matter in how direct opposition to half a score other texts ! ‘ One text at a time ! ’—sufficient for the day is the evil thereof !—and in this way they go on pulling out hair by hair from the horse’s tail, (say rather, dreaming that they do so,) and then conclude with a shout that the horse never had a tail ! For why ? This hair is not a tail, nor that, nor the third, and so on to the

very last ; and how can all do what none of all does ? —Ridiculous as this is, it is a fair image of Socinian logic. Thank God, their plucking out is a mere fancy ;—and the sole miserable reality is the bare rump which they call their religion ;—but that is the ape's own growth.

Ibid. p. 77.

First, that all punishments are designed for the good of the whole, and less or corrective punishments for the good of the offender, is admitted. * * God never inflicts punishment for the sake of punishing.

This is not, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, sufficiently guarded. That all punishments work for the good of the whole, and that the good of the whole is included in God's design, I admit : but that this is the sole cause, and the sole justification of divine punishment, I cannot, I dare not, concede ;—because I should thus deny the essential evil of guilt, and its inherent incompatibility with the presence of a Being of infinite holiness. Now, exclusion from God implies the sum and utmost of punishment ; and this would follow from the very essence of guilt and holiness, independently of example, consequence, or circumstance.

Letter VI. p. 90.

(The systems compared as to their tendency to promote morality in general.)

I have hitherto made no objection to, no remark on, any one part of this Letter ; for I object to the whole—not as Calvinism, but—as what Calvin would have recoiled from. How was it that so good and shrewd a man as Andrew Fuller should not have seen,

that the difference between a Calvinist and a Priestleyan Materialist-Necessitarian consists in this:—The former not only believes a will, but that it is equivalent to the *ego ipse*, to the actual self, in every moral agent; though he believes that in human nature it is an enslaved, because a corrupt, will. In denying free will to the unregenerated he no more denies will, than in asserting the poor Negroes in the West Indies to be slaves I deny them to be men. Now the latter, the Priestleyan, uses the word will,—not for any real, distinct, correspondent power, but,—for the mere result and aggregate of fibres, motions, and sensations; in short, it is a mere generic term with him, just as when we say, the main current in a river.

Now by not adverting to this, and alas! misled by Jonathan Edwards's book, Fuller has hidden from himself and his readers the damnable nature of the doctrine—not of necessity (for that in its highest sense is identical with perfect freedom; they are definitions each of the other); but—of extraneous compulsion. O! even this is not adequate to the monstrosity of the thought. A denial of all agency;—or an assertion of a world of agents that never act, but are always acted upon, and yet without any one being that acts;—this is the hybrid of Death and Sin, which throughout this letter is treated so amicably! Another fearful mistake, and which is the ground of the former, lies in conceding to the Materialist, *explicite et implicite*, that the *νοούμενον*, the *intelligibile*, the *ipseitas supersensibilis*, of guilt is in time, and of time, and, consequently, a mechanism of cause and effect;—in other words, in confounding the *φαινόμενα*, τὰ ρέοντα, τὰ μὴ ὄντως ὄντα,—all which belong to time, and cannot be even thought of except as effects necessarily predetermined by the precedent causes,

(themselves in their turn effects of other causes,)—with the transsensual ground or actual power.

After such admissions, no other possible defence can be made for Calvinism or any other *ism* than the wretched recrimination: 'Why, yours, Dr. Priestley, is just as bad!'—Yea, and no wonder:—for in essentials both are the same. But there was no reason for Fuller's meddling with the subject at all,—metaphysically, I mean.

Ibid. p. 95.

If the unconditionality of election render it unfriendly to virtue, it must be upon the supposition of that view of things, 'which attributes more to God, and less to man,' having such ascendancy; which is the very reverse of what Dr. Priestley elsewhere teaches, and that in the same performance.

But in both systems, as Fuller has erroneously stated his own, man is annihilated. There is neither more nor less; it is all God; all, all are but *Deus infinite modificatus*:—in brief, both systems are not Spinosism, for no other reason than that the logic and logical consequence of 10 Fullers + 10 × 10 Dr. Priestleys, piled on each other, would not reach the calf of Spinoza's leg. Both systems of necessity lead to Spinosism, nay, to all the horrible consequences attributed to it by Spinoza's enemies. O, why did Andrew Fuller quit the high vantage ground of notorious facts, plain durable common sense, and express Scripture, to delve in the dark in order to countermine mines under a spot, on which he had no business to have wall, tent, temple, or even standing-ground!

NOTES ON WHITAKER'S ORIGIN OF
ARIANISM DISCLOSED.*

1810.

Chap. I. 4. p. 30.

Making himself equal with God.

Whoever reads the four verses (John v. 16—19,) attentively, judging of the meaning of each part by the context, must needs, I think, see that the *ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ Θεῷ* (18) refers,—not to the *πατέρα ἰδίου* ἔλεγε τὸν Θεόν, (18) or the *ὁ πατήρ μου* (17) but—to the *ἐργάζεται, καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι* (17). The 19th verse, which is directly called Jesus's reply, takes no notice whatever of the *ὁ πατήρ μου* (17,) but consists wholly of a justification of the *καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι*. 1803.

The above was written many years ago. I still think the remark plausible, though I should not now express myself so positively. I imagined the Jews to mean: 'he has evidently used the words *ὁ πατήρ μου*—not in the sense in which all good men may use them, but—in a literal sense, because by the words that followed, *ἐργάζεται, καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι*, he makes himself equal to God.' To justify these words seemed to me to be the purport of Christ's reply.

Chap. II. 1. p. 34.

(Φιλῶν)—περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ πάτρια μαθήματα, πόσον τε καὶ πηλίκον εἰσενήνεκται πόνον, ἔργῳ πᾶσι δηλός. καὶ περὶ τὰ

* The Origin of Arianism Disclosed. By John Whitaker, B.D. London, 1791.

φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρια τῆς ἔξωθεν παιδείας οἷος τις ᾗν, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν· οἷτι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐξηλακῶς ἀγωγὴν, διένεγκεν ἅπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἱστορεῖται. Euseb. Hist. II. 4.

Philo's acquaintance with the doctrines of the heathens was known only by historical report to Eusebius; while the writings of Philo displayed his knowledge in the religion of the Jews.

Strange comment. Might I not, after having spoken of Dun Scotus's works, say; 'he is reported to have surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety of logic:' yet still mean no other works than those beforementioned? Are not Philo's works full of, crowded with, Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy? Eusebius knew from his works that he was a great Platonic scholar; but that he was greater than any other man of his age, he could only learn from report or history. That Virgil is a great poet I know from his poems; but that he was the greatest of the Augustan age, I must learn from Quinctilian and others.

Ibid. p. 35.

Philo and the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, —(or rather, perhaps, authors; for the first ten chapters form a complete work of themselves,)—were both Cabalistical-Platonizing Jews of Alexandria. As far as, being such, they must agree, so far they do agree; and as widely as such men could differ, do they differ. Not only the style of the Wisdom of Solomon is generically different from Philo's,—so much so that I should deem it a free translation from a Hebrew original,—but also in all the *minutiæ* of traditional history and dogma it contradicts Philo. Philo attributes the creation of man to angels; and they infused the evil principle through their own

imperfections. In the Book of Wisdom, God created man spotless, and the Devil tempting him occasioned the Fall. So the whole account of the plagues of Egypt differs as widely as possible, even to absolute contradiction. The origin of idolatry is explained altogether differently by Philo, and by the Book of Wisdom. In short, so unsupported is the tradition that many have supposed an elder Philo as the author. That the second and third chapters allude to Christ is a groundless hypothesis. The *just man* is called *the son of God*, Jehovah, *παῖς Κυρίου*;—but Christ's specific title which was deemed blasphemous by the Jews, was *Ben Elohim*, *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*;—and the fancy that Philo was a Christian in heart, but dared not openly profess himself such, is too absurd. Why no traces in his latest work, or those of his middle age? Why not the least variation in his religious or philosophical creeds in his latter works, written long after the resurrection, from those composed by him before, or a few years after, Christ's birth? Some of Philo's earlier works must have been written when our Lord was in his infancy, or at least boyhood.

In short, just take all those passages of Philo which most closely resemble others in the Wisdom of Solomon, and contain the same or nearly the same thoughts, and write them in opposite columns, and no doubt will remain that Philo was not the composer of the Book of Wisdom. Philo subtle, and with long involved periods knit together by logical connectives: the Book of Wisdom sententious, full of parallelisms, assertory, and Hebraistic throughout. It was either composed by a man who tried to Hebraise the Greek, or, if a translator, by one who tried to Græcise the Hebraisms of his original—not to disguise or hide them—but only so as to prevent them from repelling

or misleading the Greek reader. The different use of the Greek particles in the Wisdom of Solomon, and in the works of Philo, is sufficient to confute the hypothesis of Philo being the author. As little could it have been written by a Christian. For it could not have been a Christian of Palestine, from the overflowing Alexandrine Platonism ;—nor a Christian at all ; for it contradicts the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and in no wise connects any redemptory or sacrificial virtue with the death of his *just man*;—denies original sin in the Christian sense, and explains the vice and virtue of mankind by the actions of the souls of men in a state of pre-existence. No signs or miracles are referred to in the account of *the just man*; and that it was intended as a generalisation is evident from the change of the singular into the plural number in the third chapter.

The result is, in my judgment, that this Book was composed by an unknown Jew of Alexandria, either sometime before, or at the same time with, Christ. I do not think St. Paul's parallel passages amount to any proof of quotation or allusion ;—they contain the common doctrine of the spiritualised Judaism in the Cabala ;—and yet the work could scarcely have been written long before Christ, or it would certainly have been quoted or mentioned by Philo, and most probably by Josephus. And this, too, is an answer to the splendid and well-supported hypothesis of its being a translation from a Chaldaic original, composed by Jerubbabel. The variations of the Syriac translation, —which are so easily explained by translating the passage into the Chaldaic, when the cause of the mistake in the Greek or of the variation in the Syriac, is seen at once,—are certainly startling ; but they are too free ; and how could the Fathers, Jerome for example, remain ignorant of the existence of this

Chaldaic original! My own opinion is, as I said before, that the Book was written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew, who had formed his style on that of the LXX., and was led still further to an imitation of the Old Testament manner by the nature of his fiction, and as a dramatic propriety, and yet deviated from it partly on account of the very remoteness of his Platonic conceptions from the simplicity and poverty of the Hebrew; and partly because of the wordy rhetoric epidemic in Alexandria: and that it was written before the death, if not the birth, of Christ, I am induced to believe, because I do not think it probable that a book composed by a Jew, who had confessed Christ after the resurrection, would so soon have been received by the Christians, and so early placed in the very next rank to works of full inspiration.

Taken, therefore, as a work *ante*, or at least *extra Christum*, it is most valuable as ascertaining the opinions of the learned Jews on many subjects, and the general belief concerning immortality, and a day of judgment. On this ground Whitaker might have erected a most formidable battery, that would have played on the very camp and battle array of the Socinians, that is, of those who consider Christ only as a teacher of important truths.

In referring to the Cabala, I am not ignorant of the date of the oldest Rabbinical writings which contain or refer to this philosophy, but I coincide with Eichorn, and very many before Eichorn, that the foundations of the Cabala were laid and well known long before Christ, though not all the fanciful superstructure. I am persuaded that new light might be thrown on the Apocalypse by a careful study of the Book Sohar, and of whatever else there may be of that kind. The introduction (i. 4,) is clearly Cabala:

—the $\delta \psi\nu$, καὶ $\delta \eta\nu$, καὶ $\delta \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = 3, and the *seven spirits* = 10 *Sephiroth*, constituting together the *Adam Kadmon*, the second Adam of St. Paul, the incarnate one in the Messiah.

Were it not for the silence of Philo and Josephus, which I am unable to explain, if the Wisdom of Solomon was written so long before Christ, I might perhaps incline to believe it composed shortly after, if not during, the persecution of the Jews in Egypt under Ptolemy Philopator. This hypothesis would give a particular point to the bitter exposure of idolatry, to the comparison between the sufferings of the Jews, and those of idolatrous nations, to the long rehearsal and rhetorical declaration of the plagues of Egypt, and to the reward of *the just man* after a death of martyrdom; and would besides help to explain the putting together of the first ten chapters, and the fragment contained in the remaining chapters. They were works written at the same time, and by the same author: nay, I do not think it absurd to suppose, that the chapters after the tenth were annexed by the writer himself, as a long explanatory appendix; or, possibly, if they were once a separate work, these nine concluding chapters were parts of a book composed during the persecution in Egypt, the introduction and termination of which, being personal and of local application, were afterwards omitted or expunged in order not to give offence to the other Egyptians,—perhaps, to spare the shame of such Jews as had apostatised through fear, and in general not to revive heart-burnings. In modern language I should call these chapters in their present state a Note on c. x. 15—19.

On a re-perusal of this Book, I rather believe that these latter chapters never formed part of any other work, but were composed as a sort of long explanatory

Postscript, with particular bearing on certain existing circumstances to which this part of the Jewish history was especially applicable. Nay, I begin to find the silence of Philo and Josephus less inexplicable, and to imagine that I discover the solution of this problem in the very title of the Book. No one expects to find any but works of authenticity enumerated in these writers ; but to this a work, calling itself the Wisdom of Solomon, both being a fiction and never meant to pass for anything else, could make no pretensions. To have approximated it to the Holy Books of the nation would have injured the dignity of the Jewish Canon, and brought suspicion on the genuine works of Solomon, while it would have exposed to a charge of forgery a composition which was in itself only an innocent dramatic monologue. N.B. This hypothesis possesses all the advantages, and involves none of the absurdity of that which would attribute the *Ecclesiasticus* to the infamous Jason, the High Priest. More than one commentator, I find, has suspected that the Wisdom of Solomon and the second book of Maccabees were by the same author. I think this nothing.

Ibid. p. 36.

Philo throws out a number of declarations, that shew his own and the Jewish belief in a secondary sort of God, a God subordinate in origin to the Father of all, yet most intimately united with him, and sharing his most unquestionable honours.

The belief of the Alexandrian Jews who had acquired Greek philosophy, no doubt;—but of the Palestine Jews ?

Ibid. 2. p. 48.

St. John also is witnessed by a heathen (Amelius), and by one who put him down for a barbarian, to have represented the Logos as 'the Maker of all things,' as 'with God,' and as 'God.' And St. John is attested to have declared this, 'not even as shaded over, but on the contrary as placed in full view.'

Stranger still. Whitaker could scarcely have read the Greek. Amelius says, that these truths, if stripped of their allegorical dress, (*μεταπεφρασμένα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Βαρβάρου θεολογίας*) would be plain;—that is, that John in an allegory, as of one particular man, had shadowed out the creation of all things by the Logos, and the after union of the Logos with human nature,—that is, with all men. That this is his meaning, consult Plotinus.

Ibid. 9. p. 107.

'Seest thou not,' adds Philo, in the same spirit of subtilizing being into power, and dividing the Logos into two.

Who that had even rested but in the porch of the Alexandrian philosophy, would not rather say, 'of substantiating powers and attributes into being?' What is the whole system from Philo to Plotinus, and thence to Proclus inclusively, but one fanciful process of hypostasising logical conceptions and generic terms? In Proclus it is Logolatry run mad.

Chap. III. 1. pp. 131-2.

Such would be the evidence for that divinity, to accompany the Book of Wisdom, if we considered it to be as old as Solomon, or only as the Son of Sirach. But I consider it to be much later than either, and actually a work of Philo's.

* * The language is very similar to Philo's ; flowing, lively and happy.

How is it possible to have read the short Hebraistic sentences of the Book of Wisdom, and the long involved periods that characterise the style of all Philo's known writings, and yet attribute both to one writer ? But indeed I know no instance of assertions made so audaciously, or of passages misrepresented and even mistranslated so grossly, as in this work of Whitaker. His system is absolute naked Tritheism.

Ibid.

The righteous man is shadowed out by the author with a plain reference to our Saviour himself. '*Let us lie in wait for the righteous,*' &c.

How then could Philo have remained a Jew ?

Ibid. 2. p. 195.

In all effects that are voluntary, the cause must be prior to the effect, as the father is to the son in human generation. But in all that are necessary, the effect must be coëval with the cause ; as the stream is with the fountain, and light with the sun. Had the sun been eternal in its duration, light would have been coëternal with it.

A just remark ; but it cuts two ways. For these necessary effects are not really but only logically different or distinct from the cause : the rays of the sun are only the sun diffused, and the whole rests on the sensitive form of material space. Take away the notion of material space, and the whole distinction perishes.

Chap. IV. 1. p. 266.

Justin accordingly sets himself to shew, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God generated a certain rational power out of himself.

Is it not monstrous that the Jews having, according to Whitaker, fully believed a Trinity, one and all, but half a century or less before Trypho, Justin should never refer to this general faith, never reproach Trypho with the present opposition to it as a heresy from their own forefathers, even those who rejected Christ, or rather Jesus as Christ?—But no!—not a single objection ever strikes Mr. Whitaker, or appears worthy of an answer. The stupidest become authentic,—the most fantastic abstractions of the Alexandrine dreamers substantial realities! I confess this book has satisfied me how little erudition will gain a man now-a-days the reputation of vast learning, if it be only accompanied with dash and insolence. It seems to me impossible, that Whitaker can have written well on the subject of Mary, Queen of Scots, his powers of judgment being apparently so abject. For instance, he says that the grossest moral improbability is swept away by positive evidence:—as if positive evidence (that is, the belief I am to yield to A. or B.) were not itself grounded on moral probabilities. Upon my word Whitaker would have been a choice judge for Charles II. and Titus Oates.

Ibid. p. 267.

Justin therefore proceeds to demonstrate it (the pre-existence of Christ), asserting Joshua to have given only a temporary inheritance to the Jews, &c.

A precious beginning of a precious demonstration! It is well for me that my faith in the Trinity is

already well grounded by the Scriptures, by Bishop Bull, and the best parts of Plotinus, or this man would certainly have made me either a Socinian or a Deist.

Ibid. 2. p. 270.

The general mode of commencing and concluding the Epistles of St. Paul, is a prayer of supplication for the parties to whom they were addressed: in which he says, *Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and—from whom besides?—the Lord Jesus Christ*; in which our Saviour is at times invoked alone, as *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*; and is even invoked the first at times, as *the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all*; shews us plainly, &c.

Invoked! Surely a pious wish is not an invocation.

‘May good angels attend you!’ is no invocation or worship of angels. The essence of religious adoration consists in the attributing, by an act of prayer or praise, a necessary presence to an object—which not being distinguishable, if the object be sensuously present, we may safely define adoration as an acknowledgment of the actual and necessary presence of an intelligent being not present to our senses. ‘May lucky stars shoot influence on you!’ would be a very foolish superstition,—but to say in earnest! ‘O ye stars, I pray to you, shoot influences on me,’ would be idolatry. Christ was visually present to Stephen; his invocation therefore was not perforce an act of religious adoration, an acknowledgment of Christ’s deity.

NOTES ON OXLEE ON THE TRINITY AND INCARNATION.*

1827.

STRANGE—yet from the date of the book of the Celestial Hierarchies of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite to that of its translation by Johannes Scotus Erigena, the contemporary of Alfred, and from Scotus to the Rev. John Oxlee in 1815, not unfrequent—delusion of mistaking Pantheism, disguised in a fancy dress of pious phrases, for a more spiritual and philosophic form of Christian Faith! Nay, stranger still:—to imagine with Scotus and Mr. Oxlee that in a scheme which more directly than even the grosser species of Atheism, precludes all moral responsibility and subverts all essential difference of right and wrong, they have found the means of proving and explaining, ‘the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation,’ that is, the great and only sufficient antidotes of the right faith against this insidious poison. For Pantheism,—trick it up as you will,—is but a painted Atheism. A mask of perverted Scriptures may hide its ugly face, but cannot change a single feature.

Introduction, p. 4.

In the infancy of the Christian Church, and immediately after the general dispersion, which necessarily followed the sacking of Jerusalem and Bithur, the Greek and Latin

* The Christian Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation considered and maintained on the principles of Judaism. By the Rev. John Oxlee. London, 1815.

Fathers had the fairest opportunity of disputing with the Jews, and of evincing the truth of the Gospel dispensation; but unfortunately for the success of ~~so~~ noble a design, they were totally ignorant of the Hebrew Scriptures, and so wanted in every argument that stamp of authority, which was equally necessary to sanction the principles of Christianity, and to command the respect of their Jewish antagonists. For the confirmation of this remark I may appeal to the Fathers themselves, but especially to Barnabas, Justin, and Irenæus, who in their several attempts at Hebrew learning betray such portentous signs of ignorance and stupidity, that we are covered with shame at the sight of their criticisms.

Mr. Oxlee would be delighted in reading Jacob Rhenferd's disquisition on the Ebionites and other supposed heretics among the Jewish Christians. And I cannot help thinking that Rhenferd, who has so ably anticipated Mr. Oxlee on this point, and in Jortin's best manner displayed the gross ignorance of the Gentile Fathers in all matters relating to Hebrew learning, and the ludicrous yet mischievous results thereof, has formed a juster, though very much lower opinion of these Fathers, with a few exceptions, than Mr. Oxlee. I confess that till the light of the twofoldness of the Christian Church dawned on my mind, the study of the history and literature of the Church during the first three or four centuries infected me with a spirit of doubt and disgust, which required a frequent recurrence to the writings of John and Paul to preserve me whole in the Faith.

Prop. I. ch. i. p. 16.

The truth of the doctrine is vehemently insisted on, in a variety of places, by the great R. Moses ben Maimon; who founds upon it the unity of the Godhead, and ranks it among the fundamental articles of the Jewish religion.

Thus in his celebrated Letter to the Jews of Marseilles he observes, &c.

But what is obtained by quotations from Maimonides more than from Alexander Hales, or any other Schoolman of the same age? The metaphysics of the learned Jew are derived from the same source, namely, Aristotle; and his object was the same, as that of the Christian Schoolmen, namely, to systematise the religion he professed on the form and in the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy.

By the by, it is a serious defect in Mr. Oxlee's work, that he does not give the age of the writers whom he cites. He cannot have expected all his readers to be as learned as himself.

Ibid. ch. iii. p. 26.

Mr. Oxlee seems too much inclined to identify the Rabbinical interpretations of Scripture texts with their true sense; when in reality the Rabbis themselves not seldom used those interpretations as a convenient and popular mode of conveying their own philosophic opinions. Neither have I been able to admire the logic so general among the divines of both Churches, according to which if one, two, or perhaps three sentences in any one of the Canonical books appear to declare a given doctrine, all assertions of a different character must have been meant to be taken metaphorically.

Ibid. pp. 26-7.

The Prophet Isaiah, too, clearly inculcates the spirituality of the Godhead in the following declaration: *But Egypt is man, and not God: and their horses flesh, and not spirit.* (xxxi. 3) * * * In the former member the Prophet declares that Egypt was man, and not God; and then in

terms of strict opposition enforces the sentiment by adding, that their cavalry was flesh, and not spirit; which is just as if he had said : *But Egypt, which has horses in war, is only a man, that is, flesh, and not God, who is spirit.*

Assuredly this is a false interpretation, and utterly unpoetical. It is even doubtful whether רוּחַ (*ruach*) in this place means *spirit* in contradistinction to *matter* at all, and not rather air or wind. At all events, the poetic decorum, the proportion, and the antithetic parallelism, demand a somewhat as much below God, as the horse is below man. The opposition of *flesh* and *spirit* in the Gospel of St. John, who thought in Hebrew, though he wrote in Greek, favours our common version,—*flesh and not spirit* : but the place in which this passage stands, namely, in one of the first forty chapters of Isaiah, and therefore written long before the Captivity, together with the majestic simplicity characteristic of Isaiah's name, gives perhaps a greater probability to the other : *Egypt is man, and not God ; and her horses flesh, and not wind.* If Mr. Oxlee renders the fourth verse of Psalm civ.—*He maketh spirits his messengers*, (for our version—*He maketh his angels spirits*—is without a violent inversion senseless,) this is a case in point for the use of the word, *spirits*, in the sense of incorporeal beings. (Mr. Oxlee will hardly, I apprehend, attribute the opinion of some later Rabbis, that God alone and exclusively is a Spirit, to the Sacred Writers, easy as it would be to quote a score of texts in proof of the contrary.) I, however, cannot doubt that the true rendering of the above-mentioned verse in the Psalms is ;—*He maketh the winds his angels, or messengers, and the lightnings his ministrant servants.*

As to Mr. Oxlee's 'abstract intelligences,' I cannot but think 'abstract' for 'pure,' and even pure intelligences for incorporeal, a lax use of terms.

With regard to the point in question, the truth seems to be this. The ancient Hebrews certainly distinguished the principle or ground of life, understanding and will, from ponderable, visible, matter. The former they considered and called *spirit*, and believed it to be an emission from the Almighty Father of Spirits: the latter they called *body*; and in this sense they doubtless believed in the existence of incorporeal beings. But that they had any notion of immaterial beings in the sense of Des Cartes, is contrary to all we know of them, and of every other people in the same degree of cultivation. Air, fire, light, express the degrees of ascending refinement. In the infancy of thought, the life, soul, mind, are supposed to be air—*anima, animus*, that is, *ἀνεμος, spiritus πνεῦμα*. In the childhood, they are fire, *mens ignea, ignicula*, and God himself *πῦρ νοερόν, πῦρ ἀείζων*. Lastly, in the youth of thought, they are refined into light; and that light is capable of subsisting in a latent state, the experience of the stricken flint, of lightning from the clouds, and the like, served to prove, or at least, it supplied a popular answer to the objection;—‘If the soul be light, why is it not visible?’ That the purest light is invisible to our gross sense, and that visible light is a compound of light and shadow, were answers of a later and more refined period. Observe, however, that the Hebrew Legislator precluded all unfit applications of the materialising fancy by forbidding the people to *imagine* at all concerning God. For the ear alone, to the exclusion of all other bodily sense, was he to be designated, that is, by the Name. All else was for the mind—by power, truth, wisdom, holiness, mercy.

Prop. II. ch. ii. p. 86.

I fear I must surrender my hope that Mr. Oxlee was an exception to the rule, that the study of Rabbinical literature either finds a man *whimmy*, or makes him so. If neither the demands of poetic taste, nor the peculiar character of oracles, were of avail, yet morality and piety might seem enough to convince any one that this vision of Micaiah, (2 *Chron.* xviii. 18, &c.) was the poetic form, the veil, of the Prophet's meaning. And a most sublime meaning it was. Mr. Oxlee should recollect that the forms and personages of visions are all and always symbolical.

Ibid. pp. 39, 40.

It will not avail us much, however, to have established their incorporeity or spirituality, if what R. Moses affirms be true * * *. This impious paradox * *. Swayed, however, by the authority of so great a man, even R. David Kimchi has dilapased into the same error, &c.

To what purpose then are the crude metaphysics of these later Rabbis brought forward, differing as they do in no other respect from the theological *dicta* of the Schoolmen, but that they are written in a sort of Hebrew. I am far from denying that an interpreter of the Scriptures may derive important aids from the Jewish commentators: Aben Ezra, (about 1150) especially, was a truly great man. But of this I am certain, that he only will be benefited who can look down upon their works, while studying them;—that is, he must thoroughly understand their weaknesses, superstitions, and rabid appetite for the marvellous and the monstrous; and then read them as an enlightened chemist of the present day would read the writings of the old alchemists, or as a Linnæus might peruse the works

of Pliny and Aldrovandus. If he can do this, well ;
—if not, he will line his skull with cobwebs.

Ibid. pp. 40, 41.

But how, I would ask, is this position to be defended? Surely not by contradicting almost every part of the inspired volumes, in which such frequent mention occurs of different and distinct angels appearing to the Patriarchs and Prophets, sometimes in groups, and sometimes in limited numbers * *. It is, indeed, so wholly repugnant to the general tenor of the Sacred Writings, and so abhorrent from the piety of both Jew and Christian, that the learned author himself, either forgetting what he had before advanced, or else postponing his philosophy to his religion, has absolutely maintained the contrary in his explication of the Cherubim, &c.

I am so far from agreeing with Mr. Oxlee on these points, that I not only doubt whether before the Captivity any fair proof of the existence of Angels, in the present sense, can be produced from the inspired Scriptures,—but think also that a strong argument for the divinity of Christ, and for his presence to the Patriarchs and under the Law, rests on the contrary, namely, that the Seraphim were images no less symbolical than the Cherubim. Surely it is not presuming too much of a Clergyman of the Church of England to expect that he would measure the importance of a theological tenet by its bearings on our moral and spiritual duties, by its practical tendencies. What is it to us whether Angels are the spirits of just men made perfect, or a distinct class of moral and rational creatures? Augustine has well and wisely observed that reason recognises only three essential kinds ;—God, man, beast. Try as long as you will, you can never make an Angel anything but a man with wings on his shoulders.

Ibid. ch. iii. p. 58.

But this deficiency in the Mosaic account of the creation is amply supplied by early tradition, which inculcates not only that the angels were created, but that they were created, either on the second day, according to R. Jochanan, or on the fifth, according to R. Chanania.

Inspired Scripture amply supplied by the Talmudic and Rabbinical traditions!—This from a Clergyman of the Church of England!

I am, I confess, greatly disappointed. I had expected, I scarce know why, to have had some light thrown on the existence of the Cabala in its present form, from Ezekiel to Paul and John. But Mr. Oxlee takes it as he finds it, and gravely ascribes this patch-work of corrupt Platonism or Plotinism, with Chaldean, Persian, and Judaic fables and fancies, to the Jewish Doctors, as an original, profound, and pious philosophy in its fountain head! The indispensable requisite not only to a profitable but even to a safe study of the Cabala is a familiar knowledge of the docimastic philosophy, that is, a philosophy, which has for its object the trial and testing of the weights and measures themselves, the first principles, definitions, postulates, axioms of logic and metaphysics. But this is in no other way possible but by our enumeration of the mental faculties, and an investigation of the constitution, function, limits, and applicability *ad quas res*, of each. The application to this subject of the rules and forms of the understanding, or discursive logic, or even of the intuitions of the reason itself, if reason be assumed as the first and highest, has Pantheism for its necessary result. But this the Cabalists did: and consequently the Cabalistic theology is Pantheistic, and Pantheism, in whatever drapery of pious phrases disguised, is (where it forms

the whole of a system) Atheism, and precludes moral responsibility, and the essential difference of right and wrong. One of the two contra-distinctions of the Hebrew Revelation is the doctrine of positive creation. This, if not the only, is the easiest and surest criterion between the idea of God and the notion of a *mens agitans molem*. But this the Cabalists evaded by their double meaning of the term, *nothing*, namely as nought=0, and as no *thing*; and by their use of the term, as designating God. Thus in words and to the ear they taught that the world was made out of nothing; but in fact they meant and inculcated, that the world was God himself expanded. It is not, therefore, half a dozen passages respecting the first three *proprietaes* * in the Sephiroth, that will lead a wise man to expect the true doctrine of the Trinity in the Cabalistic scheme: for he knows that the scholastic value, the theological necessity, of this doctrine consists in its exhibiting an idea of God, which rescues our faith from both extremes, Cabalo-Pantheism, and Anthropomorphism. It is, I say, to prevent the necessity of the Cabalistic inferences that the full and distinct development of the doctrine of the Trinity becomes necessary in every scheme of dogmatic theology. If the first three *proprietaes* are God, so are the next seven, and so are all ten. God according to the Cabalists is all in each and one in all. I do not say that there is not a great deal of truth in this; but I say that it is not, as the Cabalists represent it, the whole truth. Spinoza himself describes his own philosophy as in substance the same with that of the ancient Hebrew Doctors, the Cabalists—only unswathed from the Biblical dress.

* That is, Intelligence or the Crown, Knowledge, Wisdom.—Ed.

Ibid. p. 61.

Similar to this is the declaration of R. Moses ben Maimon. 'For that influence, which flows from the Deity to the actual production of abstract intelligences, flows also from the intelligences to their production from each other in succession,' &c.

How much trouble would Mr. Oxlee have saved himself, had he in sober earnest asked his own mind, what he meant by emanation; and whether he could attach any intelligible meaning to the term at all as applied to spirit.

Ibid. p. 65.

Thus having, by variety of proofs, demonstrated the fecundity of the Godhead, in that all spiritualities, of whatever gradation, have originated essentially and substantially from it, like streams from their fountain; I avail myself of this as another sound argument, that in the sameness of the divine essence subsists a plurality of Persons.

A plurality with a vengeance! Why, this is the very scoff of a late Unitarian writer,—only that he inverts the order. Mr. Oxlee proves ten trillions of trillions in the Deity, in order to deduce *à fortiori* the rationality of three: the Unitarian from the Three pretends to deduce the equal rationality of as many thousands.

Ibid. p. 66.

So, if without detriment to piety great things may be compared with small, I would contend, that every intelligency, descending by way of emanation or impartition from the Godhead, must needs be a personality of that Godhead, from which it has descended, only so vastly unequal to it in personal perfection, that it can form no part of its proper existency.

Is not this to all intents and purposes ascribing

partibility to God? Indeed it is the necessary consequence of the emanation scheme?—Unequal!—Ay, various *wicked* personalities of the Godhead?—How does this rhyme?—Even as a metaphor, emanation is an ill-chosen term; for it applies only to fluids. *Ramenta*, unravellings, threads, would be more germane.

NOTES ON A BARRISTER'S HINTS ON
EVANGELICAL PREACHING.*

1810.

For only that man understands in deed
Who well remembers what he well can do;
The faith lives only where the faith doth breed
Obedience to the works it binds us to.
And as the Life of Wisdom hath exprest—
If this ye know, then do it and be blest.

LORD BROOK.

In initio.

There is one misconception running through the whole of this Pamphlet, the rock on which, and the quarry out of which, the whole reasoning, is built;—an error therefore which will not indeed destroy its efficacy as a *μίσθητρον* or anti-philtre to enflame the scorn of the enemies of Methodism, but which must utterly incapacitate it for the better purpose of convincing the consciences or allaying the fanaticism of the Methodists themselves; this is the uniform and gross misstatement of the one great point in dispute, by which the Methodists are represented as holding

* Hints to the Public and the Legislature on the nature and effect of Evangelical Preaching. By a Barrister. Fourth Edition, 1808.

the compatibility of an impure life with a saving faith : whereas they only assert that the works of righteousness are the consequence, not the price, of Redemption, a gift included in the great gift of salvation ;—and therefore not of merit but of imputation through the free love of the Saviour.

Part I. p. 49.

It is enough, it seems, that all the disorderly classes of mankind, prompted as they are by their worst passions to trample on the public welfare, should *know* that they are, what every one else is convinced they are, the pests of society, and the evil is remedied. They are not to be exhorted to honesty, sobriety, or the observance of any laws, human or divine—they must not even be entreated to do their best. ‘Just as *absurd* would it be,’ we are told, ‘in a physician to send away his patient, when labouring under some desperate disease, with a recommendation to do his utmost towards his own cure, and then to come to him to finish it, as it is in the minister of the *Gospel* to propose to the sinner to *do his best*, by way of healing the disease of the soul—and then to come to the Lord Jesus to perfect his recovery. The *only* previous qualification is to *know* our misery, and the remedy is prepared.’ See Dr. Hawker’s Works, vol. vi. p. 117.

For ‘know,’ let the Barrister substitute ‘feel ;’ that is, we know it as we know our life ; and then ask himself whether the production of such a state of mind in a sinner would or would not be of greater promise as to his reformation than the repetition of the Ten Commandments with paraphrases on the same.—But why not both ? The Barrister is at least as wrong in the undervaluing of the one as the pseudo-Evangelists in the exclusion of the other.

Ibid. p. 51.

Whatever these new Evangelists may teach to the contrary, the present state of public morals and of public happiness would assume a very different appearance if the thieves, swindlers, and highway robbers, would *do their best* towards maintaining themselves by honest labour, instead of perpetually planning new systems of fraud, and new schemes of depredation.

That is, if these thieves had a different will—not a mere wish, however anxious:—for this wish ‘the libertine’ doubtless has, as described in p. 50,—but an effective will. Well, and who doubts this? The point in dispute is, as to the means of producing this reformation in the will; which, whatever the Barrister may think, Christ at least thought so difficult as to speak of it, not once or twice, but uniformly, as little less than miraculous, as tantamount to a re-creation. This Barrister may be likened to an ignorant but well-meaning Galenist, who writing against some infamous quack, who lived by puffing and vending pills of mercurial sublimate for all cases of a certain description, should have no stronger argument than to extol *sarsaparilla*, and *lignum vitæ*, or *senna*, in contempt of all mercurial preparations.

Ibid. p. 56.

Not for the revenues of an Archbishop would he exhort them to a duty *unknown in Scripture*, of adding their five talents to the five they have received, &c.

All this is mere calumny and wilful misstatement of the tenets of Wesley, who never doubted that we are bound to improve our *talents*, or, on the other hand, that we are equally bound, having done so, to be equally thankful to the Giver of all things for the

power and the will by which we improved the talents, as for the original capital which is the object of the improvement. The question is not whether Christ will say, *Well done thou good and faithful servant, &c.*; —but whether the servant is to say it of himself. Now Christ has delivered as positive a precept against our doing this as the promise can be that he will impute it to us, if we do not impute it to our own merits.

Ibid. p. 60.

The complaints of the profligacy of servants of every class, and of the depravity of the times, are in every body's hearing:—and these Evangelical tutors—the dear Mr. Lovegoods of the day—deserve the best attention of the public for thus instructing the ignorant multitude, who are always ready enough to neglect their moral duties, to despise and insult those by whom they are taught.

All this is no better than infamous slander, unless the Barrister can prove that these depraved servants and thieves are Methodists, or have been wicked in proportion as they were proselyted to Methodism. O folly! this is indeed to secure the triumph of these enthusiasts.

Ibid.

It must afford him (Rowland Hill) great consolation, amidst the increasing immorality * * * that when their village Curate exhorts them, if they have *faith* in the doctrine of a world to come, to add to it those *good works* in which the sum and substance of religion consist, he has led them to ridicule him, as *chopping a new-fashioned logic*.

That this is either false or nugatory, see proved in *The Friend*.

Ibid. p. 68.

Tom Paine himself never laboured harder to root all virtue out of society.—Mandeville nor Voltaire never even laboured so much.

Indeed !

Ibid.

They were content with declaring their disbelief of a future state.

In what part of their works ? Can any wise man read Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, and not see that it is a keen satire on the inconsistency of Christians, and so intended ?

Ibid. p. 71.

When the populace shall be once brought to a conviction that the Gospel, as they are told, has neither terms nor conditions * * *, that no sins can be too great, no life too impure, *no offences too many or too aggravated*, to disqualify the perpetrators of them for—salvation, &c.

Merely insert the words 'sincere repentance and amendment of heart and life, and therefore for' salvation,—and is not this truth, and Gospel truth ? And is it not the meaning of the preacher ? Did any Methodist ever teach that salvation may be attained without sanctification ? This Barrister for ever forgets that the whole point in dispute is not concerning the possibility of an immoral Christian being saved, which the Methodists would deny as strenuously as himself, and perhaps give an austerer sense to the word immoral ; but whether morality, or as the Methodists would call it, sanctification, be the price which we pay for the purchase of our salvation with our own money, or a part of the same free gift. God knows,

I am no advocate for Methodism; but for fair statement I am, and most zealously—even for the love of logic, putting honesty out of sight.

Ibid. p. 72.

‘In every age,’ says the moral divine (Blair), ‘the practice has prevailed of substituting certain appearances of piety in the place of the great *duties* of humanity and mercy,’ &c.

Will the Barrister rest the decision of the controversy on a comparison of the lives of the Methodists and non-Methodists? Unless he knows that their ‘morality has declined, as their piety has become more ardent,’ is not his quotation mere labouring—nay, absolute pioneering—for the triumphal chariot of his enemies?

Ibid. pp. 75-79.

It is but fair to select a specimen of Evangelical preaching from one of its most celebrated and popular champions * *.

He will preface it with the solemn and woful communication of the Evangelist John, in order to show how exactly they accord, how clearly the doctrines of the one are deduced from the Revelation of the other, and how justly, therefore, it assumes the exclusive title of evangelical. *And I saw the dead * * * and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead * * and they were judged every man according to his works.* Rev. xx. 12, 13. Let us recall to mind the urgent caution conveyed in the writings of Paul * * *Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.* And let us further add * * the confirmation * * of the Saviour himself:—*When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, * * * but the righteous into life eternal.* Matt. xxv. 31, *ad finem.* Let us now attend to the Evangelical preacher (Toplady): “The Religion of Jesus Christ stands eminently distinguished, and

essentially differenced, from every other religion that was ever proposed to human reception, by this remarkable peculiarity; that, look abroad in the world, and you will find that every religion, *except one*, puts you upon *doing something*, in order to recommend yourself to God. A Mahometan * * A Papist * * * It is only the religion of Jesus Christ that runs counter to all the rest, by affirming that we are *saved* and called with a holy calling, *not* according to our works, but according to the Father's own purpose and grace, which was *not* sold to us *on certain conditions to be fulfilled by ourselves*, but was given us in Christ before the world began." Toplady's Works : Sermon on James ii. 18.

Si sic omnia! All this is just and forcible; and surely nothing can be easier than to confute the Methodist by showing that his very *no-doing*, when he comes to explain it, is not only an act, a work, but even a very severe and perseverant energy of the will. He is therefore to be arraigned of nonsense and abuse of words rather than of immoral doctrines.

Ibid. p. 84.

The sacred volume of Holy Writ declares that *true* (pure?) *religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.* James i. 27.

This is now at least, whatever might have been the meaning of the word 'religion' in the time of the Translators, a false version. St. James is speaking of persons eminently zealous in those public or private acts of worship, which we call divine service, *θρησκεία*. It should be rendered, *True worship, &c.* The passage is a fine burst of rhetoric, and not a mere truism; just as when we say;—'A cheerful heart is a perpetual thanksgiving, and a state of love and resignation the truest utterance of the Lord's Prayer.' St. James opposes Christianity to the outward

signs and ceremonial observances of the Jewish and Pagan religions. But these are the only sure signs, these are the most significant ceremonial observances by which your Christianity is to be made known,—to visit the fatherless, &c. True religion does not consist *quoad essentiam* in these acts, but in that habitual state of the whole moral being, which manifests itself by these acts—and which acts are to the religion of Christ that which ablutions, sacrifices and Temple-going were to the Mosaic religion, namely, its genuine *θρησκεία*. That which was the religion of Moses is the ceremonial or cult of the religion of Christ. Moses commanded all good works, even those stated by St. James, as the means of temporal felicity; and this was the Mosaic religion; and to these he added a multitude of symbolical observances; and these formed the Mosaic cult, (*cultus religionis, θρησκεία*). Christ commands holiness out of perfect love, that is, Christian religion; and adds to this no other ceremony or symbol than a pure life and active beneficence; which (says St. James) are the *true cult*.*

Ibid. p. 86.

There is no one whose writings are better calculated to do good (than those of Paley), by inculcating the essential duties of common life, and the sound truths of practical Christianity.

Indeed! Paley's whole system is reducible to this one precept:—'Obey God, and benefit your neighbour, because you love yourself above all.' Christ has himself comprised his system in—'Love your neighbour as yourself, and God above all.' These 'sound truths of practical Christianity' consist in a

* See *Aids to Reflection*, p. 14. 4th edit.—Ed.

total subversion, not only of Christianity, but of all morality; the very words virtue and vice being but lazy synonymes of prudence and miscalculation,—and which ought to be expunged from our vocabularies, together with Abraxas and Abracadabra, as charms abused by superstitious or mystic enthusiasts.

Ibid. p. 94.

Eventually the whole direction of the popular mind, in the affairs of religion, will be gained into the hands of a set of ignorant fanatics of such low origin and vulgar habits as can only serve to degrade religion in the eyes of those to whom its influence is most wanted. Will such persons venerate or respect it in the hands of a sect composed in the far greater part of bigoted, coarse, illiterate, and low-bred enthusiasts? Men who have abandoned their lawful callings, in which by industry they might have been useful members of society, to take upon themselves concerns the most sacred, with which nothing but their vanity and their ignorance could have excited them to meddle.

It is not the buffoonery of the reverend joker of the Edinburgh Review; not the convulsed grin of mortification which, sprawling prostrate in the dirt from 'the whiff and wind' of the masterly disquisition in the Quarterly Review, the itinerant preacher would pass off for the broad grin of triumph; no, nor even the over-valued distinction of miracles,—which will prevent him from seeing and showing the equal applicability of all this to the Apostles and primitive Christians. We know that Trajan, Pliny, Tacitus, the Antonines, Celsus, Lucian, and the like,—much more the ten thousand philosophers and joke-smiths of Rome,—did both feel and apply all this to the Galilean Sect; and yet—*Vicisti, O Galilæe!*

Ibid. p. 95.

They never fail to refer to the proud Pharisee, whom they term *self-righteous*; and thus, having greatly misrepresented his character, they proceed to declaim on the arrogance of founding any expectation of reward from the performance of our *moral duties*:—whereas the plain truth is that the Pharisee was *not righteous*, but merely arrogated to himself that character; he had neglected all the *moral duties* of life.

Who told the Barrister this? Not the Gospel, I am sure.

The Evangelical has only to translate these sentences into the true statement of his opinions, in order to baffle this angry and impotent attack; the self-righteousness of all who expect to claim salvation on the plea of their own personal merit. 'Pay to A. B. at sight—value received by me.' To Messrs. Stone and Co., Bankers, Heaven-Gate. It is a short step from this to the Popish. 'Pay to A. B. *or order*.' Once assume merits, and I defy you to keep out supererogation and the old *Monte di Pietà*.

Ibid. p. 97.

— and from thence occasion is taken to defame all those who strive to prepare themselves, during this their state of trial, for that judgment which they must undergo at that day, when they will receive either reward or punishment, according as they shall be found to have *merited* the one, or *deserved* the other.

Can the Barrister have read the New Testament? Or does he know it only by quotations?

Ibid.

— a swarm of new Evangelists who are every where teaching the people that no reliance is to be placed on holiness of life as a ground of future acceptance.

I am weary of repeating that this is false. It is only denied that mere acts, not proceeding from faith, are or can be holiness.' As surely (would the Methodist say) as the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, so surely does sanctification from redemption, and not *vice versâ*,—much less from self-sanctifiedness, that ostrich with its head in the sand, and the plucked rump of its merits staring on the divine *Ἄρῃ venatrix!*

Ibid. p. 102.

He that doeth righteousness is righteous. Since then it is plain that each must *himself* be righteous, if he be so at all, what do they mean who thus inveigh against *self-righteousness*, since Christ himself declares there is no other?

Here again the whole dispute lies in the word 'himself.' In the outward and visible sense both parties agree; but the Methodist calls it 'the will in us,' given by grace; the Barrister calls it 'our own will,' or 'we ourselves.' But why does not the Barrister reserve a part of his wrath for Dr. Priestley, according to whom a villain has superior claims on the divine justice as an innocent martyr to the grand machinery of Providence;—for Dr. Priestley, who turns the whole dictionary of human nature into verbs impersonal with a perpetual *subauditur* of *Deus* for their common nominative case;—which said *Deus*, however, is but another *automaton*, self-worked indeed, but yet worked, not properly working, for he admits no more freedom or will to God than to man?

The Lutheran leaves the free will whining with a broken back in the ditch; and Dr. Priestley puts the poor animal out of his misery!—But seriously, is it fair or even decent to appeal to the Legislature against the Methodists for holding the doctrine of the Atonement? Do we not pray by Act of Parliament twenty times every Sunday *through the only merits of Jesus Christ*? Is it not the very nose which (of flesh or wax) this very Legislature insists on as an indispensable qualification for every Christian face? Is not the lack thereof a felonious deformity, yea, the grimmest feature of the *lues confirmata* of statute heresy? What says the reverend critic to this? Will he not rise in wrath against the Barrister,—he the Pamphagus of Homilitic, Liturgic, and Articular orthodoxy,—the Garagantua, whose ravenous maw leaves not a single word, syllable, letter, no, not one *iota* unswallowed, if we are to believe his own recent and voluntary manifesto? * What says he to this Barrister, and his Hints to the Legislature?

Ibid. p. 105.

If the new faith be the only true one, let us embrace it; but let not those who vend these *new articles* expect that we should choose them with our eyes shut.

Let any man read the Homilies of the Church of England, and if he does not call this either blunt impudence or blank ignorance, I will plead guilty to both! New articles!! Would to Heaven some of them at least were! Why, Wesley himself was scandalised at Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, and cried off from the Moravians (the strictest Lutherans) on that account.

* Quart. Review, vol. ii. p. 187.—*Ed.*

Ibid. p. 114.

The catalogue of authors, which this Rev. Gentleman has pleased to specify and recommend, begins with Homer, Hesiod, the Argonautics, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Theognis, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus. * * * 'This catalogue,' says he, 'might be considerably extended, but I study brevity. It is only necessary for me to add that the recommendation of these books is not to be considered as expressive of my approbation of every particular sentiment they contain.' It would indeed be grievous injustice if this writer's reputation should be injured by the occasional ~~inconsistency~~ ^{inconsistency} of opinion in writers whom it is more than probable he may never have read, and for whose sentiments he ought no more to be made answerable than the compiler of Lackington's Catalogue, from which it is not unlikely that his own was abridged.

Very good.

Ibid. pp. 115-16.

These high-strained pretenders to godliness, who deny the power of the sinner to help himself, take good care always to attribute his *saving change* to the blessed effect of some sermon preached by some one or other of *their* Evangelical fraternity. They always hold *themselves* up to the multitude as the instruments producing all those marvellous conversions which they relate. No instance is recorded in their Saints' Calendar of any sinner resolving, in consequence of a reflective and serious perusal of the Scriptures, to lead a new life. No instance of a daily perusal of the Bible producing a daily progress in virtuous habits. No, the *Gospel* has no such effects.—It is always the *Gospel Preacher* who works the miracle, &c.

Excellent and just. In this way are the Methodists to be attacked :—even as the Papists were by Baxter, not from their doctrines, but from their practices, and the spirit of their Sect. There is a fine passage

in Lord Bacon concerning a heresy of manner being not less pernicious than heresy of matter.

Ibid. p. 118.

But their Saints, who would stop their ears if you should mention with admiration the name of a Garrick or a Siddons;—who think it a sin to support such an *infamous profession* as that through the medium of which a Milton, a Johnson, an Addison, and a Young have laboured to mend the heart, &c.

Whoo! See Milton's Preface to the Samson Agonistes.

Ibid. p. 133.

In the Evangelical Magazine is the following article: 'At ——— in Yorkshire, after a handsome collection (for the Missionary Society) a poor man, whose wages are about 28s. per week, brought a donation of 20 guineas. Our friends hesitated to receive it * * when he answered * *—"Before I knew the grace of our Lord I was a poor drunkard: I never could save a shilling. My family were in beggary and rags; but since it has pleased God to renew me by his grace, we have been industrious and frugal: we have not spent many idle shillings; and we have been enabled to put something into the Bank; and this I freely offer to the blessed cause of our Lord and Saviour." This is the second donation of this same poor man to the same amount!' Whatever these Evangelists may think of such conduct, they ought to be ashamed of thus basely taking advantage of this poor ignorant enthusiast, &c.

Is it possible to read this affecting story without finding in it a complete answer to the charge of demoralising the lower classes? Does the Barrister really think, that this generous and grateful enthusiast is as likely to be unprovided and poverty-stricken in his old age, as he was prior to his conversion?

Except indeed that at that time his old age was as improbable as his distresses were certain if he did live so long. This is singing *Io Pæan!* for the enemy with a vengeance.

Part II. p. 14.

It behoved him (Dr. Hawker in his Letter to the Barrister) to show in what manner a covenant can exist without terms or conditions.

According to the Methodists there is a condition,—that of faith in the power and promise of Christ, and the virtue of the Cross. And were it otherwise, the objection is scarcely appropriate except at the Old Bailey, or in the Court of King's Bench. The Barrister might have framed a second law-syllogism, as acute as his former. The laws of England allow no binding covenant in a transfer of goods or chattels without value received. But there can be no value received by God :—*Ergo*, there can be no covenant between God and man. And if Jehovah should be as courteous as the House of Commons, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Courts at Westminster, the pleading might hold perhaps, and the Pentateuch be quashed after an argument before the judges. Besides, how childish to puff up the empty bladder of an old metaphysical foot-ball on the *modus operandi interior* of Justification into a show of practical substance ; as if it were no less solid than a cannon-ball ! Why, drive it with all the vehemence that five toes can exert, it would not kill a louse on the head of Methodism. Repentance, godly sorrow, abhorrence of sin as sin, and not merely dread from forecast of the consequences, these the Arminian would call means of obtaining salvation, while the Methodist (more philosophically perhaps) names them

signs of the work of free grace commencing and the dawning of the sun of redemption. And pray where is the practical difference?

Ibid. p. 26.

Jesus answered him thus—*Verily, I say unto you, unless a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*—The true sense of which is obviously this:—Except a man be initiated into my religion by Baptism, (which at that time was always preceded by a confession of faith) and unless he manifest his sincere reception of it, by leading that upright and spiritual life which it enjoins, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven, or be a partaker of that happiness which it belongs to me to confer on those who believe in my name and keep my sayings.

Upon my faith as a Christian, if no more is meant by being born again than this, the speaker must have had the strongest taste in metaphors of any teacher in verse or prose on record, Jacob Behmen himself not excepted. The very Alchemists lag behind. Pity, however, that our Barrister has not shown us how this plain and obvious business of Baptism agrees with ver. 8 of the same chapter: *The wind bloweth where it listeth, &c.* Now if this does not express a visitation of the mind by a somewhat not in the own power or fore-thought of the mind itself, what are words meant for?

Ibid. p. 29.

The true meaning of being *born again*, in the sense in which our Saviour uses the phrase, implies nothing more or less, in plain terms, than this:—to repent; to lead for the future a religious life instead of a life of disobedience; to believe the Holy Scriptures, and to pray for grace and assistance to persevere in our obedience to the end. All

this any man of common sense might explain in a few words.

Pray, then, (for I will take the Barrister's own commentary,) what does the man of common sense mean by grace? If he will explain grace in any other way than as the circumstances *ab extra* (which would be mere mockery and in direct contradiction to a score of texts), and yet without mystery, I will undertake for Dr. Hawker and Co. to make the new birth itself as plain as a pikestaff, or a whale's foal, or Sarah Roberts's rabbits.

Ibid. p. 30.

So that they go on in their sin waiting for a new birth, &c.

'So that they go on in their sin!'—Who would not suppose it notorious that every Methodist meeting-house was a cage of Newgate larks making up their minds to die game?

Ibid.

The following account is extracted from the Methodist Magazine for 1798: 'The Lord astonished Sarah Roberts with his mercy, by *setting her at liberty, while employed in the necessary business of washing for her family,*' &c.

N. B. Not the famous rabbit-woman.—She was Roberts.

Ibid. p. 31.

A washerwoman has *all her sins blotted out* in the twinkling of an eye, and while reeking with suds is received in the family of the Redeemer's kingdom. Surely this is a most abominable profanation of all that is serious, &c.

And where pray is the absurdity of this? Has Christ declared any antipathy to washerwomen, or

the Holy Ghost to warm suds? Why does not the Barrister try his hand at the 'abominable profanation,' in a story of a certain woman with an issue of blood who was made free by touching the hem of a garment, without the previous knowledge of the wearer?

*Rode, caper, vitem : tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.*

Ibid. p. 32.

The leading design of John the Baptist * * was * this :—to prepare the minds of men for the reception of that pure system of moral truth which the Saviour, by divine authority, was speedily to inculcate, and of those sublime doctrines of a resurrection and a future judgment, which, as powerful motives to the practice of holiness, he was soon to reveal.

What then? Did not John the Baptist himself teach a pure system of moral truth? Was John so much more ignorant than Paul before his conversion, and the whole Jewish nation, except a few rich free-thinkers, as to be ignorant of the 'sublime doctrines of a resurrection and a future judgment!' This, I well know, is the strong-hold of Socinianism; but surely one single unprejudiced perusal of the New Testament,—not to suppose an acquaintance with Kidder or Lightfoot—would blow it down, like a house of cards!

Ibid. p. 33.

— their faiths in the efficacy of their own rites, and creeds, and ceremonies, and their whole train of *substitutions for moral duty*, was so entire, and in their opinion was such a *saving faith*, that they could not at all interpret any language that seemed to dispute their value, or deny their importance.

Poor strange Jews! They had, doubtless, what

Darwin would call a specific *paralysis* of the auditory nerves to the writings of their own Prophets, which yet were read Sabbath after Sabbath in their public Synagogues. For neither John nor Christ himself ever did, or indeed could, speak in language more contemptuous of the folly of considering rites as substitutions for moral duty, or in severer words denounce the blasphemy of such an opinion. Why need I refer to Isaiah or Micah?

Ibid. p. 34.

Thus it was that this moral preacher explained and enforced the duty of repentance, and thus it was that he prepared the way for the greatest and best of teachers, &c.

Well then, if all this was but a preparation for the doctrines of Christ, those doctrines themselves must surely have been something different, and more difficult? Oh no! John's preparation consisted in a complete rehearsal of the *Drama didacticum*, which Christ and the Apostles were to exhibit to a full audience!—Nay, prithee, good Barrister! do not be too rash in charging the Methodists with a monstrous burlesque of the Gospel!

Ibid. p. 37.

— the logic of the new Evangelists will convince him that it is a contradiction in terms even to *suppose* himself capable of doing any thing to help or bringing any thing to recommend himself to the Divine favour.

Now, suppose the wisdom of these endless attacks on an old abstruse metaphysical notion to be allowed, yet why in the name of common candour does not the Barrister ring the same *tocsin* against his friend Dr. Priestley's scheme of Necessity;—or against his

idolised Paley, who explained the will as a sensation, produced by the action of the intellect on the muscles, and the intellect itself as a catenation of ideas, and ideas as configurations of the organised brain? Would not every syllable apply, yea, and more strongly, more indisputably? And would his fellow-sectaries thank him, or admit the consequences? Or has any late Socinian divine discovered, that Do as ye would be done unto, is an interpolated precept?

Ibid. p. 39.

‘Even repentance and faith,’ (says Dr. Hawker,) ‘those most essential qualifications of the mind, for the participation and enjoyment of the blessings of the Gospel, (and which all real disciples of the Lord Jesus cannot but possess,) are *never supposed as a condition which the sinner performs to entitle him to mercy*, but merely as evidences that he is brought and has obtained mercy. *They cannot be the conditions* of obtaining salvation.’

Ought not this single quotation to have satisfied the Barrister, that no practical difference is deducible from these doctrines? ‘Essential qualifications,’ says the Methodist:—‘terms and conditions,’ says the spiritual higgler. But if a man begins to reflect on his past life, is he to withstand the inclination? God forbid! exclaim both. If he feels a commencing shame and sorrow, is he to check the feeling? God forbid! cry both in one breath! But should not remembrancers be thrown in the way of sinners, and the voice of warning sound through every street and every wilderness? Doubtless, quoth the Rationalist. We do it, we do it, shout the Methodists. In every corner of every lane, in the high road, and in the waste, we send forth the voice—Come to Christ, and repent, and be cleansed! Ay, quoth the Rationalist, but I say Repent, and become clean,

and go to Christ—Now is not Mr. Rationalist as great a bigot as the Methodists, as he is, *me judice*, a worse psychologist?

Ibid. p. 40.

The former authorities on this subject I had quoted from the Gospel according to St. Luke : that Gospel most positively and most solemnly declares the *repentance* of sinners to be the *condition* on which *alone* salvation can be obtained. But the doctors of the new divinity *deny* this : they tell us distinctly *it cannot be*. For the future, the Gospel according to Calvin must be received as the truth. Sinners will certainly prefer it as the more comfortable of the two beyond all comparison.

Mercy ! but only to read Calvin's account of that repentance, without which there is no sign of election, and to call it 'the more comfortable of the two?' The very term by which the German New-Birthites express it is enough to give one goose-flesh—*das Herzkniirschen*—the very heart crashed between the teeth of a lock-jaw'd agony !

Ibid.

What is *faith* ? Is it not a conviction produced in the mind by adequate testimony ?

No ! that is not the meaning of faith in the Gospel, nor indeed any where else. Were it so, the stronger the testimony, the more adequate the faith. Yet who says, I have faith in the existence of George II., as his present Majesty's antecessor and grandfather?—If testimony, then evidence too ;—and who has faith that the two sides of all triangles are greater than the third ? In truth, faith, even in common language, always implies some effort, something of evidence

which is not universally adequate or communicable at will to others. 'Well! to be sure he has behaved badly hitherto, but I have faith in him.' If it were otherwise, how could it be imputed as righteousness? Can morality exist without choice;—nay, strengthen in proportion as it becomes more independent of the will? 'A very meritorious man! he has faith in every proposition of Euclid, which he understands.'

Ibid. p. 41.

'I could as easily create a world (says Dr. Hawker) as create either faith or repentance in my own heart.' Surely, this is a most monstrous confession. What! is not the Christian religion a *revealed* religion, and have we not the most miraculous attestation of its truth?

Just look at the answer of Christ himself to Nicodemus, *John* iii. 2, 3. Nicodemus professed a full belief in Christ's divine mission. Why? It was attested by his miracles. What answered Christ? 'Well said, O believer?' No, not a word of this; but the proof of the folly of such a supposition. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee; except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God*,—that is, he cannot have faith in me.

Ibid. p. 42.

How can this evangelical preacher declaim on the necessity of seriously searching into the truth of revelation, for the purpose either of producing or confirming our belief of it, when he has already pronounced it to be just as possible to arrive at conviction as to create a world?

Did Dr. Hawker say that it was impossible to produce an assent to the historic credibility of the facts related in the Gospel? Did he say that it was impossible to become a Socinian by the weighing of

outward evidences? No! but Dr. Hawker says,—and I say,—that this is not, cannot be, what Christ means by faith, which, to the misfortune of the Socinians, he always demands as the condition of a miracle, instead of looking forward to it as the natural effect of a miracle. How came it that Peter saw miracles countless, and yet was without faith till the Holy Ghost descended on him? Besides, miracles may or may not be adequate evidence for Socinianism; but how could miracles prove the doctrine of Redemption, or the divinity of Christ? But this is the creed of the Church of England.

It is wearisome to be under the necessity, or at least the constant temptation, of attacking Socinianism in reviewing a work professedly written against Methodism. Surely such a work ought to treat of those points of doctrine and practice, which are peculiar to Methodism. But to publish a *diatribe* against the substance of the Articles and Catechism of the English Church, nay, of the whole Christian world, excepting the Socinians, and to call it 'Hints concerning the dangerous and abominable absurdities of Methodism,' is too bad.

Ibid. p. 43.

But this Calvinistic Evangelist tells us, by way of accounting for the utter impossibility of producing in himself either faith or repentance, that both are of divine origin, and like the light, and the rain, and the dew of heaven, which tarrieth not for man, neither waiteth for the sons of men, are from above, and come down 'from the Father of lights, from whom alone cometh every good and perfect gift !

Is the Barrister — are the Socinian divines — inspired, or infallibly sure that it is a crime for a Christian to understand the words of Christ in their

plain and literal sense, when a Socinian chooses to give his paraphrase,—often, too, as strongly remote from the words, as the old spiritual paraphrases on the Song of Solomon?

Ibid. p. 46.

According to that Gospel which hath hitherto been the pillar of the Christian world, we are taught that whosoever endeavours to the best of his ability to reform his manners, and amend his life, will have pardon and acceptance.

As interpreted by whom? By the Socini, or the Barrister?—Or by Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome, the Gregories, Eusebius, Athanasius?—By Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Thomas-a-Kempis?—By Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Calvin?—By the Reformers and martyrs of the English Church?—By Cartwright and the learned Puritans?—By Knox?—By George Fox?—With regard to this point, that mere external evidence is inadequate to the production of a saving faith, and in the majority of other opinions, all these agree with Wesley. So they all understood the Gospel. But it is not so! *Ergo*, the Barrister is infallible.

Ibid. p. 47.

When the wicked man turneth away from the wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. This gracious declaration the old moral divines of our Church have placed in the front of its Liturgy.

In the name of patience, over and over again, who has ever denied this? The question is, by what power, his own, or by the free grace of God through Christ, the wicked man is enabled to turn from his wickedness. And again and again I ask:—Were not these 'old moral divines' the authors and compilers of the

Homilies? If the Barrister does not know this, he is an ignorant man; if knowing it, he has yet never examined the Homilies, he is an unjust man; but if he have, he is a slanderer and a sycophant.

Is it not intolerable to take up three bulky pamphlets against a recent Sect, denounced as most dangerous, and which we all know to be most powerful and of rapid increase, and to find little more than a weak declamatory abuse of certain metaphysical dogmas concerning free will, or free will forfeited, *de libero vel servo arbitrio*—of grace, predestination, and the like;—dogmas on which, according to Milton, God and the Logos conversed, as soon as man was in existence, they in heaven, and Adam in paradise, and the devils in hell;—dogmas common to all religions, and to all ages and sects of the Christian religion;—concerning which Brahmin disputes with Brahmin, Mahometan with Mahometan, and Priestley with Price;—and all this to be laid on the shoulders of the Methodists collectively: though it is a notorious fact, that a radical difference on this abstruse subject is the ground of the schism between the Whitfieldite and the Wesleyan Methodists; and that the latter coincide in opinion with Erasmus and Arminius, by which latter name they distinguish themselves; and the former with Luther, Calvin, and their great guide, St. Augustine? This I say is intolerable,—yea, a crime against sense, candour, and white paper.

Ibid. p. 50.

‘For so very peculiarly directed to the sinner, and to him only (says the evangelical preacher) is the blessed Gospel of the Lord Jesus, that unless you are a sinner, you are not interested in its saving truths.’

Does not Christ himself say the same in the plainest
VOL. II.

and most unmistakable words? *I come not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.* Can he, who has no share in the danger, be interested in the saving? Pleased from benevolence he may be; but interested he cannot be. *Estne aliquid inter saluum et salutem; inter liberum et libertatem? Salus est pereuntis, vel saltem periclitantis: redemptio, quasi pons divinus, inter servum et libertatem,—amissam, ideoque optatam.*

Ibid. p. 52.

It was reserved for these days of *new discovery* to announce to mankind that, unless they are sinners, they are excluded from the promised blessings of the Gospel.

Merely read 'that unless they are sick they are precluded from the offered remedies of the Gospel;' and is not this the dictate of common sense, as well as of Methodism? But does not Methodism cry aloud that all men are sick—sick to the very heart? *If we say we are without sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* This shallow-pated Barrister makes me downright piggish, and without the stratagem of that famed philosopher in pig-nature almost drives me into the Charon's hoy of Methodism by his rude and stupid tail-hauling me back from it.

Ibid. p. 53.

I can assure these gentlemen that I regard with a reverence as pure and awful as can enter into the human mind, that blood which was shed upon the Cross.

That is, in the Barrister's creed, that mysterious flint, which with the subordinate aids of mutton, barley, salt, turnips, and potherbs, makes most wonderful fine

flint broth. Suppose Christ had never shed his blood, yet if he had worked his miracles, raised Lazarus, and taught the same doctrines, would not the result have been the same?—Or if Christ had never appeared on earth, yet did not Daniel work miracles as stupendous, which surely must give all the authority to his doctrines that miracles can give? And did he not announce by the Holy Spirit the resurrection to judgment, of glory or of punishment?

Ibid. p. 54.

Let them not attempt to escape it by quoting a few disconnected phrases in the Epistles, but let them adhere solely and steadfastly to that Gospel of which they affect to be the exclusive preachers.

And whence has the Barrister learnt that the Epistles are not equally binding on Christians as the four Gospels? Surely, of St. Paul's at least, the authenticity is incomparably clearer than that of the first three Gospels; and if he give up, as doubtless he does, the plenary inspiration of the Gospels, the personal authority of the writers of all the Epistles is greater than two at least of the four Evangelists. Secondly, the Gospel of John and all the Epistles were purposely written to teach the Christian Faith; whereas the first three Gospels are as evidently intended only as *memorabilia* of the history of the Christian Revelation, as far as the process of Redemption was carried on in the life, death and resurrection of the divine Founder. This is the blank, brazen, blushless, or only brass-blushing, impudence of an Old Bailey Barrister, attempting to browbeat out of Court the better and more authentic half of the witnesses against him. If I wished to understand the laws of England, shall I consult Hume or Blackstone

—him who has written his volumes expressly as comments on those laws, or the historian who mentions them only as far as the laws were connected with the events and characters which he relates or describes? Nay, it is far worse than this; for Christ himself repeatedly defers the publication of his doctrines till after his death, and gives the reason too, that till he had sent the Holy Ghost, his disciples were not capable of comprehending them. Does he not attribute to an immediate influence of especial inspiration even Peter's acknowledgment of his Filiation to God, or Messiahship?—Was it from the Gospels that Paul learned to know Christ?—Was the Church sixty years without the awful truths taught exclusively in John's Gospel?

Part III. p. 5.

The *nostrum* of the mountebank will be preferred to the prescription of the regular practitioner. Why is this? Because there is something in the authoritative arrogance of the pretender, by which ignorance is overawed.

This is something; and true as far as it goes; that is, however, but a very little way. The great power of both spiritual and physical mountebanks rests on that irremovable property of human nature, in force of which indefinite instincts and sufferings find no echo, no resting-place, in the definite and comprehensible. Ignorance unnecessarily enlarges the sphere of these: but a sphere there is,—facts of mind and cravings of the soul there are,—in which the wisest man seeks help from the indefinite, because it is nearer and more like the infinite, of which he is made the image:—for even we are infinite, even in our finiteness infinite, as the Father in his infinity. In many caterpillars there is a large empty space in the

head, the destined room for the pushing forth of the antennæ of its next state of being.

Ibid. p. 12.

But the anti-moralists aver * * that they are quoted unfairly;—that although they disavow, it is true, the necessity, and deny the value, of practical morality and personal holiness, and declare them to be totally irrelevant to our future salvation, yet that * * I might have found occasional recommendations of moral duty which I have neglected to notice.

The same *crambe bis decies cocta* of one self-same charge grounded on one gross and stupid misconception and mis-statement; and to which there needs no other answer than this simple fact. Let the barrister name any one gross offence against the moral law, for which he would shun a man's acquaintance, and for that same vice the Methodist would inevitably be excluded publicly from their society; and I am inclined to think that a fair list of the barrister's friends and acquaintances would prove that the Calvinistic Methodists are the austerer and more watchful censors of the two. If this be the truth, as it notoriously is, what but the cataract of stupidity uncouched, or the thickest film of bigotry, can prevent a man from seeing that this tenet of justification by faith alone is exclusively a matter between the Calvinist's own heart and his Maker, who alone knows the true source of his words and actions; but that to his neighbours and fellow-reedsmen, his spotless life and good works are demanded, not, indeed, as the prime efficient causes of his salvation, but as the necessary and only possible signs of that faith, which is the means of that salvation, of which Christ's free grace is the cause, and the

sanctifying Spirit the perfecter. But I fall into the same fault I am arraigning, by so often exposing and confuting the same blunder, which has no claim even at its first enunciation to the compliment of a philosophical answer. But why, in the name of common sense, all this endless whoop and hubbub against the Calvinistic Methodists? I had understood that the Arminian Methodists, or Wesleyans, are the more numerous body by far. Has there been any union lately? Have the followers of Wesley abjured the doctrines of their founder on this head?

Ibid. p. 16.

We are told by our new spiritual teachers, that reason is not to be applied to the inquiry into the truth or falsehood of their doctrines; they are spiritually discerned, and carnal reason has no concern with them.

Even under this aversion to reason, as applied to religious grounds, a very important truth lurks: and the mistake (a very dangerous one I admit), lies in the confounding two very different faculties of the mind under one and the same name;—the pure reason or *vis scientifica*; and the discourse, or prudential power, the proper objects of which are the *phænomena* of sensuous experience. The greatest loss which modern philosophy has through wilful scorn sustained, is the grand distinction of the ancient philosophers between the *νοούμενα*, and *φαινόμενα*. This gives the true sense of Pliny—*venerare Deos* (that is, their statues, and the like,) *et numina Deorum*, that is, those spiritual influences which are represented by the images and persons of Apollo, Minerva, and the rest.

Ibid. p. 17.

Religion has for its object the moral care and the moral cultivation of man. Its beauty is not to be sought in the regions of mystery, or in the flights of abstraction.

What ignorance! Is there a single moral precept of the Gospels not to be found in the Old Testament? Not one. A new edition of White's *Diatessaron*, with a running comment consisting entirely of parallel passages from the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman writers before Christ, and those after him who, it is morally certain, drew no aids from the New Testament, is a grand *desideratum*; and if anything could open the eyes of Socinians, this would do it.

Ibid. p. 24.

The masculine strength and moral firmness which once distinguished the great mass of the British people is daily fading away. Methodism with all its cant, &c.

Well! but in God's name can Methodism be at once the effect and the cause of this loss of masculine strength and moral firmness?—Did Whitfield and Wesley blow them out at the first puff—these grand virtues of masculine strength and moral firmness? Admire, I pray you, the happy antithesis. Yet 'feminine' would be an improvement, as then the sense too would be antithetic. However, the sound is sufficient, and modern rhetoric possesses the virtue of economy.

Ibid. p. 27.

So with the Tinker; I would give him the care of kettles, but I would not give him *the cure of souls*. So long as he attended to the management and mending of his pots and

pans, I would wish success to his ministry : but when he came to declare *himself* a 'chosen vessel,' and demand permission to take the souls of the people into his holy keeping, I should think that, instead of a *licence*, it would be more humane and more prudent to give him a passport to St. Luke's. Depend upon it, such men were never sent by Providence to rule or to regulate mankind.

Whoo ! Bounteous Providence that always looks at the body-clothes and the parents' equipage before it picks out the proper soul for the baby ! Ho ! the Duchess of Manchester is in labour :—quick, Raphael, or Uriel, bring a soul out of the Numa bin, a young Lycurgus. Or the Archbishop's lady :—ho ! a soul from the Chrysostom or Athanasian locker.—But poor Moll Crispin is in the throes with twins :—well ! there are plenty of cobblers' and tinkers' souls in the hold—John Bunyan !! Why, thou miserable Barrister, it would take an angel an eternity to tinker thee into a skull of half his capacity !

Ibid. pp. 30, 31.

'A truly awakened conscience' (these anti-moral editors of the Pilgrim's Progress assure us) 'can never find relief from the law : (that is, the *moral law*). The more he looks for peace *this way*, *his guilt*, like a heavy burden, becomes more intolerable ; when he becomes *dead* to the law,—as to *any dependence upon it for salvation*,—by the body of Christ, and married to him, who was raised from the dead, then, and not till then, his heart is set at liberty, to run the way of God's commandments.'

Here we are taught that the *conscience* can never find relief from obedience to the law of the Gospel.

False. We are told by Bunyan and his editors that the conscience can never find relief for its disobedience to the Law in the Law itself ;—and this is as true of the moral as of the Mosaic Law. I am

not defending Calvinism or Bunyan's theology; but if victory, not truth, were my object, I could desire no easier task than to defend it against our doughty Barrister. Well, but I repent—that is, regret it!—Yes! and so you doubtless regret the loss of an eye or arm:—will that make it grow again?—Think you this nonsense as applied to morality? Be it so! But yet nonsense most tremendously suited to human nature it is, as the Barrister may find in the arguments of the Pagan philosophers against Christianity, who attributed a large portion of its success to its holding out an expiation, which no other religion did. Read but that most affecting and instructive anecdote selected from the Hindostan Missionary Account by the Quarterly Review.* Again let me say I am not giving my own opinion on this very difficult point; but of one thing I am convinced that the *I am sorry for it, that's enough*—men mean nothing but regret when they talk of repentance, and have consciences either so pure or so callous, as not to know what a direful and strange thing remorse is, and how absolutely a fact *sui generis*! I have often remarked, and it cannot be too often remarked (vain as this may sound), that this essential heterogeneity of regret and remorse is of itself a sufficient and the best proof of free will and reason, the co-existence of which in man we call conscience, and on this rests the whole superstructure of human religion—God, immortality, guilt, judgment, redemption. Whether another and different superstructure may be raised on the same foundation, or whether the same edifice is susceptible of important alteration, is another question. But such is the edifice at present, and this its foundation: and the Barrister might as rationally expect to blow up Windsor

* See vol. i. p. 217.—Ed.

principle most mysterious, the undoubted object of religious awe, a perpetual witness of that God, whose image (εἰκὼν) it is ; a principle utterly incomprehensible by the discursive intellect ;—and moreover teaches us, that the surest plan for stifling and paralysing this divine birth in the soul (a phrase of Plato's as well as of the Tinker's) is by attempting to evoke it by, or to substitute for it, the hopes and fears, the motives and calculations, of prudence ; which is an excellent and in truth indispensable servant, but considered as master and primate of the moral diocese precludes the possibility of virtue (in Bunyan's phrase holiness of spirit) by introducing legality ; which is no cant phrase of Methodism, but of authenticated standing in the ethics of the profoundest philosophers—even those who rejected Christianity, as a miraculous event, and revelation itself as far as anything supernatural is implied in it. I must not mention Plato, I suppose,—he was a mystic ; nor Zeno,—he and his were visionaries :—but Aristotle, the cold and dry Aristotle, has in a very remarkable passage in his lesser tract of Ethics asserted the same thing ; and called it 'a divine principle, lying deeper than those things which can be explained or enunciated discursively.'

Ibid. pp. 45, 46.

Sure I am that no father of a family that can at all estimate the importance of keeping from the infant mind whatever might raise impure ideas or excite improper inquiries will ever commend the Pilgrim's Progress to their perusal.

And in the same spirit, and for the same cogent reasons that the holy monk Lewis prohibited the Bible in all decent families ;—or if they must have

something of that kind, would propose in preference Tirante the White! O how I abhor this abominable heart-haunting impurity in the envelope of modesty! Merciful Heaven! is it not a direct consequence from this system, that we all purchase our existence at the price of our mother's purity of mind? See what Milton has written on this subject in the passage quoted in the Friend in the essays on the communication of truth.*

Ibid. p. 47.

Let us ask whether the female mind is likely to be trained to purity by studying this manual of piety, and by expressing its devotional desires after the following example. 'Mercy being a *young and breeding* woman *longed* for something,' &c.

Out upon the fellow! I could find it in my heart to suspect him of any vice that the worst of men could commit!

Ibid. pp. 55, 56.

As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. The interpretation of this text is simply this:—As by following the fatal example of one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by that pattern of perfect obedience which Christ has set before us shall many be made righteous.

What may not be explained thus? And into what may not anything be thus explained? It comes out little better than nonsense in any other than the literal sense. For let any man of sincere mind and without any system to support, look round on all his Christian neighbours, and will he say, or will they say, that the origin of their well-doing was an attempt

* Friend, Vol. I. Essays X. and XI. 3rd edition.—Ed.

to imitate what they all believe to be inimitable, Christ's perfection in virtue, his absolute sinlessness? No—but yet perhaps some particular virtues; for instance, his patriotism in weeping over Jerusalem, his active benevolence in curing the sick and preaching to the poor, his divine forgiveness in praying for his enemies?—I grant all this. But then how is this peculiar to Christ? Is it not the effect of all illustrious examples, of those probably most which we last read of, or which made the deepest impression on our feelings? Were there no good men before Christ, as there were no bad men before Adam? Is it not a notorious fact that those who most frequently refer to Christ's conduct for their own actions, are those who believe him the incarnate Deity—consequently, the best possible guide, but in no strict sense an example;—while those who regard him as a mere man, the chief of the Jewish Prophets, both in the pulpit and from the press ground their moral persuasions chiefly on arguments drawn from the propriety and seemliness—or the contrary—of the action itself, or from the will of God known by the light of reason? To make St. Paul prophesy that all Christians will owe their holiness to their exclusive and conscious imitation of Christ's actions, is to make St. Paul a false prophet;—and what in such case becomes of the boasted influence of miracles? Even as false would it be to ascribe the vices of the Chinese, or even our own, to the influence of Adam's bad example. As well might we say of a poor scrofulous innocent: 'See the effect of the bad example of his father on him!' I blame no man for disbelieving, or for opposing with might and main, the dogma of Original Sin: but I confess that I neither respect the understanding nor have confidence in the sincerity of him, who declares that he has carefully

read the writings of St. Paul, and finds in them no consequence attributed to the fall of Adam but that of his bad example, and none to the Cross of Christ but the good example of dying a martyr to a good cause. I would undertake from the writings of the later English Socinians to collect paraphrases on the New Testament texts that could only be paralleled by the spiritual paraphrase on Solomon's Song to be found in the recent volume of 'A Dictionary of the Holy Bible, by John Brown, Minister of the Gospel at Haddington : ' third edition, in the Article, Song.

Ibid. pp. 63, 64.

Call forth the robber from his cavern, and the midnight murderer from his den ; summon the seducer from his couch, and beckon the adulterer from his embrace ; cite the swindler to appear ; assemble from every quarter all the various miscreants whose vices deprave, and whose villanies distress, mankind ; and when they are thus thronged round in a circle, assure them—not that there is a God that judgeth the earth—not that punishment in the great day of retribution will await their crimes, &c. &c.—Let every sinner in the throng be told that they will stand *justified* before God ; that the *righteousness of Christ* will be imputed to them, &c.

Well, do so.—Nay, nay ! it has been done ; the effect has been tried ; and slander itself cannot deny that the effect has been the conversion of thousands of those very sinners whom the Barrister's fancy thus convokes. O shallow man ! not to see that here lies the main strength of the cause he is attacking ; that, to repeat my former illustration, he draws the attention to patients in that worst state of disease which perhaps alone requires and justifies the use of the white pill, as a mode of exposing the frantic quack who vends it promiscuously ! He fixes on the empiric's cures to prove his murders !—not to forget

pans, I would wish success to his ministry : but when he came to declare *himself* a 'chosen vessel,' and demand permission to take the souls of the people into his holy keeping, I should think that, instead of a *licence*, it would be more humane and more prudent to give him a passport to St. Luke's. Depend upon it, such men were never sent by Providence to rule or to regulate mankind.

Whoo ! Bounteous Providence that always looks at the body-clothes and the parents' equipage before it picks out the proper soul for the baby ! Ho ! the Duchess of Manchester is in labour :—quick, Raphael, or Uriel, bring a soul out of the Numa bin, a young Lycurgus. Or the Archbishop's lady :—ho ! a soul from the Chrysostom or Athanasian locker.—But poor Moll Crispin is in the throes with twins :—well ! there are plenty of cobblers' and tinkers' souls in the hold—John Bunyan !! Why, thou miserable Barrister, it would take an angel an eternity to tinker thee into a skull of half his capacity !

Ibid. pp. 30, 31.

'A *truly* awakened conscience' (these anti-moral editors of the Pilgrim's Progress assure us) 'can never find relief from the law : (that is, the *moral law*). The more he looks for peace *this way*, *his guilt*, like a heavy burden, becomes more intolerable ; when he becomes *dead* to the law,—as to *any dependence upon it for salvation*,—by the body of Christ, and married to him, who was raised from the dead, then, and not till then, his heart is set at liberty, to run the way of God's commandments.'

Here we are taught that the *conscience* can never find relief from obedience to the law of the Gospel.

False. We are told by Bunyan and his editors that the conscience can never find relief for its disobedience to the Law in the Law itself ;—and this is as true of the moral as of the Mosaic Law. I am

not defending Calvinism or Bunyan's theology; but if victory, not truth, were my object, I could desire no easier task than to defend it against our doughty Barrister. Well, but I repent—that is, regret it!—Yes! and so you doubtless regret the loss of an eye or arm:—will that make it grow again?—Think you this nonsense as applied to morality? Be it so! But yet nonsense most tremendously suited to human nature it is, as the Barrister may find in the arguments of the Pagan philosophers against Christianity, who attributed a large portion of its success to its holding out an expiation, which no other religion did. Read but that most affecting and instructive anecdote selected from the Hindostan Missionary Account by the Quarterly Review.* Again let me say I am not giving my own opinion on this very difficult point; but of one thing I am convinced that the *I am sorry for it, that's enough*—men mean nothing but regret when they talk of repentance, and have consciences either so pure or so callous, as not to know what a direful and strange thing remorse is, and how absolutely a fact *sui generis*! I have often remarked, and it cannot be too often remarked (vain as this may sound), that this essential heterogeneity of regret and remorse is of itself a sufficient and the best proof of free will and reason, the co-existence of which in man we call conscience, and on this rests the whole superstructure of human religion—God, immortality, guilt, judgment, redemption. Whether another and different superstructure may be raised on the same foundation, or whether the same edifice is susceptible of important alteration, is another question. But such is the edifice at present, and this its foundation: and the Barrister might as rationally expect to blow up Windsor

* See vol. i. p. 217.—Ed.

Castle by discharging a popgun in one of its cellars, as hope to demolish Calvinism by such arguments as his.

Ibid. pp. 35, 36.

‘And behold a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to *inherit eternal life*?’

‘He said unto him, *What is written in the law? How readest thou?*’

‘And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with *all thy strength*, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

‘And he said unto him, *Thou hast answered right. This do, and thou shalt live.*’ Luke x. 25—28.

So would Bunyan, and so would Calvin have preached;—would both of them in the name of Christ have made this assurance to the Barrister—*This do and thou shalt live.* But what if he has not done it, but the very contrary? And what if the Querist should be a staunch disciple of Dr. Paley: and hold himself ‘morally obliged’ not to hate or injure his fellow-man, not because he is compelled by conscience to see the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and to abhor sin as sin, even as he eschews pain as pain,—no, not even because God has forbidden it:—but ultimately because the great Legislator is able and has threatened to put him to unspeakable torture if he disobeys, and to give him all kind of pleasure if he does not? * Why, verily, in this case,

* “And from this account of obligation it follows, that we can be obliged to nothing but what we ourselves are to gain or lose something by; for nothing else can be a violent motive to us. As we should not be obliged to obey the laws, or the magistrate, unless rewards or punishments, pleasure or pain, somehow or other depended upon our obedience; so neither should we, without the same reason, be obliged to do what is

I do foresee that both the Tinker and the Divine would wax warm, and rebuke the said Querist for vile hypocrisy, and a most nefarious abuse of God's good gift, intelligible language. What! do you call this *loving the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and all your mind,—and your neighbour as yourself?* Whereas in truth you love nothing, not even your own soul; but only set a superlative value on whatever will gratify your selfish lust of enjoyment, and insure you from hell-fire at a thousand times the true value of the dirty property. If you have the impudence to persevere in misnaming this 'love,' supply any one instance in which you use the word in this sense? If your son did not spit in your face, because he believed that you would disinherit him if he did, and this were his main moral obligation, would you allow that your son loved you—and with all his heart, and mind, and strength, and soul?—Shame! Shame!

Now the power of loving God, of willing good as good, (not of desiring the agreeable, and of preferring a larger though distant delight to an infinitely smaller immediate qualification, which is mere selfish prudence,) Bunyan considers supernatural, and seeks its source in the free grace of the Creator through Christ the Redeemer:—this the Kantian also avers to be supersensual indeed, but not supernatural, but in the original and essence of human nature, and forming its grand and awful characteristic. Hence he calls it *die Menschheit*—the principle of humanity;—but yet no less than Calvin or the Tinker declares it a

right, to practise virtue, or to obey the commands of God."—*Foley's Moral and Polit. Philosophy*, B. II. c. 2.

"The difference, and the only difference (*between prudence and duty*), is this; that in the one case we consider what we shall gain or lose in the present world; in the other case, we consider also what we shall gain or lose in the world to come."—*Ib.* c. 3.—*Ed.*

principle most mysterious, the undoubted object of religious awe, a perpetual witness of that God, whose image (εἰκὼν) it is ; a principle utterly incomprehensible by the discursive intellect ;—and moreover teaches us, that the surest plan for stifling and paralyzing this divine birth in the soul (a phrase of Plato's as well as of the Tinker's) is by attempting to evoke it by, or to substitute for it, the hopes and fears, the motives and calculations, of prudence ; which is an excellent and in truth indispensable servant, but considered as master and primate of the moral diocese precludes the possibility of virtue (in Bunyan's phrase holiness of spirit) by introducing legality ; which is no cant phrase of Methodism, but of authenticated standing in the ethics of the profoundest philosophers—even those who rejected Christianity, as a miraculous event, and revelation itself as far as anything supernatural is implied in it. I must not mention Plato, I suppose,—he was a mystic ; nor Zeno,—he and his were visionaries :—but Aristotle, the cold and dry Aristotle, has in a very remarkable passage in his lesser tract of Ethics asserted the same thing ; and called it 'a divine principle, lying deeper than those things which can be explained or enunciated discursively.'

Ibid. pp. 45, 46.

Sure I am that no father of a family that can at all estimate the importance of keeping from the infant mind whatever might raise impure ideas or excite improper inquiries will ever commend the Pilgrim's Progress to their perusal.

And in the same spirit, and for the same cogent reasons that the holy monk Lewis prohibited the Bible in all decent families ;—or if they must have

something of that kind, would propose in preference Tirante the White! O how I abhor this abominable heart-haunting impurity in the envelope of modesty! Merciful Heaven! is it not a direct consequence from this system, that we all purchase our existence at the price of our mother's purity of mind? See what Milton has written on this subject in the passage quoted in the Friend in the essays on the communication of truth.*

Ibid. p. 47.

Let us ask whether the female mind is likely to be trained to purity by studying this manual of piety, and by expressing its devotional desires after the following example. 'Mercy being a *young and breeding* woman *longed* for something,' &c.

Out upon the fellow! I could find it in my heart to suspect him of any vice that the worst of men could commit!

Ibid. pp. 55, 56.

As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. The interpretation of this text is simply this:—As by following the fatal example of one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by that pattern of perfect obedience which Christ has set before us shall many be made righteous.

What may not be explained thus? And into what may not anything be thus explained? It comes out little better than nonsense in any other than the literal sense. For let any man of sincere mind and without any system to support, look round on all his Christian neighbours, and will he say, or will they say, that the origin of their well-doing was an attempt

* Friend, Vol. I. Essays X. and XI. 3rd edition.—*Ed.*

to imitate what they all believe to be inimitable, Christ's perfection in virtue, his absolute sinlessness? No—but yet perhaps some particular virtues; for instance, his patriotism in weeping over Jerusalem, his active benevolence in curing the sick and preaching to the poor, his divine forgiveness in praying for his enemies?—I grant all this. But then how is this peculiar to Christ? Is it not the effect of all illustrious examples, of those probably most which we last read of, or which made the deepest impression on our feelings? Were there no good men before Christ, as there were no bad men before Adam? Is it not a notorious fact that those who most frequently refer to Christ's conduct for their own actions, are those who believe him the incarnate Deity—consequently, the best possible guide, but in no strict sense an example;—while those who regard him as a mere man, the chief of the Jewish Prophets, both in the pulpit and from the press ground their moral persuasions chiefly on arguments drawn from the propriety and seemliness—or the contrary—of the action itself, or from the will of God known by the light of reason? To make St. Paul prophesy that all Christians will owe their holiness to their exclusive and conscious imitation of Christ's actions, is to make St. Paul a false prophet;—and what in such case becomes of the boasted influence of miracles? Even as false would it be to ascribe the vices of the Chinese, or even our own, to the influence of Adam's bad example. As well might we say of a poor scrofulous innocent: 'See the effect of the bad example of his father on him!' I blame no man for disbelieving, or for opposing with might and main, the dogma of Original Sin: but I confess that I neither respect the understanding nor have confidence in the sincerity of him, who declares that he has carefully

read the writings of St. Paul, and finds in them no consequence attributed to the fall of Adam but that of his bad example, and none to the Cross of Christ but the good example of dying a martyr to a good cause. I would undertake from the writings of the later English Socinians to collect paraphrases on the New Testament texts that could only be paralleled by the spiritual paraphrase on Solomon's Song to be found in the recent volume of 'A Dictionary of the Holy Bible, by John Brown, Minister of the Gospel at Haddington : ' third edition, in the Article, Song.

Ibid. pp. 63, 64.

Call forth the robber from his cavern, and the midnight murderer from his den ; summon the seducer from his couch, and beckon the adulterer from his embrace ; cite the swindler to appear ; assemble from every quarter all the various miscreants whose vices deprave, and whose villainies distress, mankind ; and when they are thus thronged round in a circle, assure them—not that there is a God that judgeth the earth—not that punishment in the great day of retribution will await their crimes, &c. &c.—Let every sinner in the throng be told that they will stand *justified* before God ; that the *righteousness of Christ* will be imputed to *them*, &c.

Well, do so.—Nay, nay ! it has been done ; the effect has been tried ; and slander itself cannot deny that the effect has been the conversion of thousands of those very sinners whom the Barrister's fancy thus convokes. O shallow man ! not to see that here lies the main strength of the cause he is attacking ; that, to repeat my former illustration, he draws the attention to patients in that worst state of disease which perhaps alone requires and justifies the use of the white pill, as a mode of exposing the frantic quack who vends it promiscuously ! He fixes on the empiric's cures to prove his murders !—not to forget

what ought to conclude every paragraph in answer to the Barrister's Hints ; and were the case as alleged, what does this prove against the present Methodists, as Methodists ? Is not the tenet of imputed righteousness the faith of all the Scotch Clergy, who are not false to their declarations at their public assumption of the ministry ? Till within the last sixty or seventy years, was not the tenet preached Sunday after Sunday in every nook of Scotland ; and has the Barrister heard that the morals of the Scotch peasants and artisans have been improved within the last thirty or forty years, since the exceptions have become more and more common ?—Was it by want of strict morals that the Puritans were distinguished to their disadvantage from the rest of Englishmen during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II. ? And that very period, which the Barrister affirms to have been distinguished by the moral vigour of the great mass of Britons,—was it not likewise the period when this very doctrine was preached by the Clergy fifty times for once that it is heard from the same pulpits in the present and preceding generation ? Never, never can the Methodists be successfully assailed, if not honestly, and never honestly or with any chance of success, except as Methodists ;—for their practices, their alarming theocracy, their stupid, mad, and mad-driving superstitions. These are their property *in peculio* ; their doctrines are those of the Church of England, with no other difference than that in the Church Liturgy, and Articles, and Homilies, Calvinism and Lutheranism are joined like the two hands of the Union Fire Office :—the Methodists have unclasped them, and one is Whitfield and the other Wesley.

Ibid. p. 75.

'For the same reason that a book written in bad language should never be put into the hands of a child that speaks correctly, a book exhibiting instances of vice should never be given to a child that thinks and acts properly.' (Practical Education. By Maria and R. L. Edgeworth.)

How mortifying that one is never lucky enough to meet with any of these *virtuosissimos*, fifteen or twenty years of age. But perhaps they are such rare jewels, that they are always kept in cotton! The Kilcrops! I would not exchange the heart, which I myself had when a boy, while reading the life of Colonel Jack, or the Newgate Calendar, for a wagon-load of these brilliants.

Ibid. p. 78.

'When a man turns his back on this world, and is in good earnest resolved for everlasting life, his carnal friends, and ungodly neighbours, will pursue him with hue and cry; but death is at his heels, and he cannot stop short of the city of Refuge.' (Notes to the Pilgrim's Progress by Hawker, Burder, &c.) This representation of the state of real Christians is as mischievous as it is false.

Yet Christ's assertion on this head is positive, and universal; and I believe it from my inmost soul, and am convinced that it is just as true A.D. 1810, as A.D. 33.

Ibid. p. 82.

The spirit with which all their merciless treatment is to be borne is next pointed out. * * '*Patient bearing of injuries* is true Christian fortitude, and will always be more effectual to *disarm our enemies*, and to bring others to the knowledge of the truth, than all *arguments* whatever.'

Is this Barrister a Christian of any sort or sect,
VOL. II. X

and is he not ashamed, if not afraid, to ridicule such passages as these? If they are not true, the four Gospels are false.

Ibid. p. 86.

It is impossible to give them credit for integrity when we behold the obstinacy and the artifice with which they defend their system against the strongest argument, and against the clearest evidence.

Modest gentleman! I wonder he finds time to write bulky pamphlets: for surely modesty, like his, must secure success and clientage at the bar. Doubtless he means his own arguments, the evidence he himself has adduced:—I say doubtless, for what are these pamphlets but a long series of attacks on the doctrines of the strict Lutherans and Calvinists, (for the doctrines he attacks are common to both,) and if he knew stronger arguments, clearer evidence, he would certainly have given them;—and then what obstinate rogues must our Bishops be, to have suffered these Hints to pass into a third edition, and yet not have brought a Bill into Parliament for a new set of Articles? I have not heard that they have even the grace to intend it.

Ibid. p. 88.

On this subject I will quote the just and striking observations of an excellent modern writer. 'In whatever village,' says he, 'the fanatics get a footing, drunkenness and swearing,—sins which, being more exposed to the eye of the world, would be ruinous to their great pretensions to superior sanctity—will, perhaps be found to decline; but I am convinced, from personal observation, that every species of fraud and falsehood—sins which are not so readily detected, but which seem more closely connected with worldly advantage—will be found invariably to increase.'

(Religion without Cant; by R. Fellowes, A.M. of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.)

In answer to this let me make a 'very just observation,' by some other man of my opinion, to be hereafter quoted 'from an excellent modern writer;'—and it is this, that from the birth of Christ to the present hour, no sect or body of men were zealous in the reformation of manners in society, without having been charged with the same vices in the same words. When I hate a man, and see nothing bad in him, what remains possible but to accuse him of crimes which I cannot see, and which cannot be disproved, because they cannot be proved? Surely, if Christian charity did not preclude these charges, the shame of convicted parrotry ought to prevent a man from repeating and republishing them. The very same thoughts, almost the words, are to be found of the early Christians; of the poor Quakers; of the Republicans; of the first Reformers.—Why need I say this? Does not every one know, that a jovial pot-companion can never believe a water-drinker not to be a sneaking cheating knave who is afraid of his thoughts; that every libertine swears that those who pretend to be chaste, either have their mistress in secret, or far worse, and so on?

Ibid. p. 89.

The same religious abstinence from all appearance of recreation on the Lord's day; and the same neglect of the weightier matters of the moral law, in the course of the week, &c.

This sentence thus smuggled in at the bottom of the chest ought not to pass unnoticed; for the whole force of the former depends on it. It is a true trick, and deserves reprobation.

Ibid. p. 97.

Note. It was procured, Mr. Collyer informs us, by the merit of his 'Lectures on Scripture facts.' It should have been 'Lectures on *Scriptural* Facts.' What should we think of the grammarian, who, instead of *Historical*, should present us with 'Lectures on *History* Facts!'

But Law Tracts? And is not 'Scripture' as often used semi-adjectively?

Ibid. p. 98.

'Do you really believe,' says Dr. Hawker, 'that, because man by his apostacy hath lost his power and ability to obey, God hath lost his right to command? Put the case that you were called upon, as a barrister, to recover a debt due from one man to another, and you knew the debtor had not the ability to pay the *creditor*, would you tell your client that his debtor was under no legal or moral obligation to pay what he had no power to do? And would you tell him that the very expectation of his just right *was as foolish as it was tyrannical*?' * * * I will give my reply to these questions distinctly and without hesitation. * * * Sup- A. to have lent B. a thousand pounds, as a capital to commence trade, and that, when he purchased his stock to this amount, and lodged it in his warehouse, a fire were to break out in the next dwelling, and, extending itself to *his* warehouse, were to consume the whole of his property, and reduce him to a state of utter ruin. If A., my client, were to ask my opinion as to his right to recover from B., I should tell him that this his right would exist should B. ever be in a condition to repay the sum borrowed: * * * but that to attempt to recover a thousand pounds from a man thus reduced by accident to utter ruin, and who had not a shilling left in the world, would be *as foolish as it was tyrannical*.

But this is rank sophistry. The question is:— Does a thief (and a fraudulent debtor is no better)

acquire a claim to impunity by not possessing the power of restoring the goods? Every moral act derives its character (says a Schoolman with an unusual combination of profundity with quaintness) *aut voluntate originis aut origine voluntatis*. Now the very essence of guilt, its dire and incommunicable character, consists in its tendency to destroy the free will;—but when thus destroyed, are the habits of vice thenceforward innocent? Does the law excuse the murder because the perpetrator was drunk? Dr. Hawker put his objection laxly and weakly enough; but a manly opponent would have been ashamed to seize an hour's victory from what a move of the pen would render impregnable.

Ibid. pp. 102-3.

When at this solemn tribunal the sinner shall be called upon to answer for the transgression of those *moral* laws, on obedience to which salvation was made to depend, will it be sufficient that he declares himself to have been taught to believe that the Gospel *had neither terms nor conditions*, and that his salvation was secured by a covenant which procured him pardon and peace, *from all eternity*: a covenant, the effects of which no folly or *after-act whatever* could possibly destroy?—Who could anticipate the sentence of condemnation, and not weep in agony over the deluded victim of ignorance and misfortune who was thus taught a doctrine so fatally false?

What then! God is represented as a tyrant when he claims the penalty of disobedience from the servant, who has wilfully incapacitated himself for obeying,—and yet just and merciful in condemning to indefinite misery a poor 'deluded victim of ignorance and imposture,' even though the Barrister, spite of his antipathy to Methodists, would 'weep in agony' over him! But before the Barrister draws

bills of imagination on his tender feelings, would it not have been as well to adduce some last dying speech and confession, in which the culprit attributed his crimes—not to Sabbath-breaking and loose company,—but to sermon-hearing on the *modus operandi* of the divine goodness in the work of redemption? How the Ebenezerites would stare to find the Socinians and themselves in one flock on the sheep-side of the judgment-seat,—and their cousins, and fellow Methodists, the Tabernaclers, all caprifield—goats every man:—and why? They held, that repentance is in the power of every man, with the aid of grace; while the goats held that without grace no man is able even to repent. A. makes grace the cause, and B. makes it only a necessary auxiliary. And does the Socinian extricate himself a whit more clearly? Without a due concurrence of circumstances no mind can improve itself into a state susceptible of spiritual happiness: and is not the disposition and pre-arrangement of circumstances as dependent on the divine will as those spiritual influences which the Methodist holds to be meant by the word grace? Will not the Socinian find it as difficult to reconcile with mercy and justice the condemnation to hell-fire of poor wretches born and bred in the thieves' nests of St. Giles, as the Methodists the condemnation of those who have been less favoured by grace? I have one other question to ask, though it should have been asked before. Suppose Christ taught nothing more than a future state of retribution, and the necessity and sufficiency of good morals, how are we to explain his forbidding these truths to be taught to any but Jews till after his resurrection? Did the Jews reject those doctrines? Except perhaps a handful of rich men, called Sadducees, they all believed them, and would have died a thousand deaths

rather than have renounced their faith. Besides, what is there in doctrines common to the creed of all religions, and enforced by all the schools of philosophy, except the Epicurean, which should have prevented their being taught to all at the same time? I perceive, that this difficulty does not press on Socinians exclusively: but yet it presses on them with far greater force than on others. For they make Christianity a mere philosophy, the same in substance with the Stoical, only purer from errors, and accompanied with clearer evidence: while others think of it as part of a covenant made up with Abraham, the fulfilment of which was in good faith to be first offered to his posterity. I ask this only because the Barrister professes to find every thing in the four Gospels so plain and easy.

Ibid. p. 106.

The Reformers by whom those articles were framed were educated in the Church of Rome, and opposed themselves rather to the perversion of its power than the errors of its doctrine.

An outrageous blunder.

Ibid. p. 107.

Lord Bacon was the first who dedicated his profound and penetrating genius to the cultivation of sound philosophy, &c.

This very same Lord Bacon has given us his *Confessio Fidei* at great length, with full particularity. Now I will answer for the Methodists' unhesitating assent and consent to it; but would the Barrister subscribe it?

Ibid. p. 108.

We look back to that era of our history when superstition threw her victim on the pile, and bigotry tied the martyr to his stake:—but we take our eyes from the retrospect and turn them in thankful admiration to that Being who has opened the minds of many, and is daily opening the minds of more amongst us to the reception of these most important of all truths, that there is no true faith but in practical goodness, and that the worst of errors is the error of *the life*.

Such is the conviction of the most enlightened of our Clergy: the conviction, I trust, of the far greater part * * *. They deem it better to inculcate the moral duties of Christianity in the pure simplicity and clearness with which they are revealed, than to go aside in search of *doctrinal mysteries*. For as mysteries cannot be made manifest, they, of course, cannot be understood; and that which cannot be understood, cannot be believed, and can, consequently, make no part of any system of faith: since no one, till he understands a doctrine, can tell whether it be true or false; till then, therefore, he can have no faith in it, for no one can rationally affirm that he believes that doctrine to be true which he does not know to be so; and he cannot know it to be true if he does not understand it. In the religion of a true Christian, therefore, there can be nothing unintelligible; and if the preachers of that religion do not make mysteries, they will never find any.

Who? the Bishops or the dignified Clergy? Have they at length exploded all ‘doctrinal mysteries?’ Was Horsley ‘the one red leaf, the last of its clan,’ that held the doctrines of the Trinity, the corruption of the human Will, and the Redemption by the Cross of Christ? Verily, this is the most impudent attempt to impose a naked Socinianism on the public, as the general religion of the nation, admitted by all but a dunghill of mushroom fanatics, that ever insulted common sense or common modesty! And will ‘the far greater part’ of the English Clergy remain silent

under so atrocious a libel as is contained in this page? Do they indeed solemnly pray to their Maker weekly, before God and man, in the words of a Liturgy, which, they know, 'cannot be believed?' For heaven's sake, my dear Southey, do quote this page and compare it with the introduction to and petitions of the Liturgy, and with the Collects on the Advent, &c.

Ibid. p. 110.

We shall discover upon an attentive examination of the subject, that all those laws which lay the basis of our constitutional liberties, are no other than the rules of religion transcribed into the judicial system, and enforced by the sanction of civil authority.

What! compare these laws, first, with Tacitus's account of the constitutional laws of our German ancestors, Pagans; and then with the Pandects and *Novella* of the most Christian Justinian, aided by all his Bishops. Observe, the Barrister is asserting a fact of the historical origination of our laws,—and not what no man would deny, that as far as they are humane and just, they coincide with the precepts of the Gospel. No, they were 'transcribed.'

Ibid. p. 113.

Where a man holds a certain system of doctrines, the State is bound to tolerate, though it may not approve, them; but when he demands a *licence to teach* this system to the rest of the community, he demands that which ought not to be granted incautiously and without grave consideration. This discretionary power is delegated in trust for the common good, &c.

All this, dear Southey, I leave to the lash of your indignation. It would be oppression to do—what the

Legislature could not do if it would—prevent a man's thoughts; but if he speaks them aloud, and asks either for instruction and confutation, if he be in error, or assent and honor, if he be in the right, then it is no oppression to throw him into a dungeon! But the Barrister would only withhold a licence! Nonsense. What if he preaches and publishes without it, will the Legislature dungeon him or not? If not, what use is either the granting or the withholding? And this too from a Socinian, who by this very book has, I believe, made himself obnoxious to imprisonment and the pillory—and against men, whose opinions are authorised by the most solemn acts of Parliament, and recorded in a Book, of which there must be one, by law, in every parish, and of which there is in fact one in almost every house and hovel!

Part IV. p. 1.

The religion of genuine Christianity is a revelation so distinct and specific in its design, and so clear and intelligible in its rules, that a man of philosophic and retired thought is apt to wonder by what means the endless systems of error and hostility which divide the world were ever introduced into it.

What means this hollow cant—this fifty times warmed-up bubble and squeak? That such parts are intelligible as the Barrister understands? That such parts as it possesses in common with all systems of religion and morality are plain and obvious? In other words that ABC are so legible that they are legible to every one that has learnt to read? If the Barrister mean other or more than this, if he really mean the whole religion and revelation of Christ, even as it is found in the original records, the Gospels and Epistles, he escapes from the silliness of a truism

by throwing himself into the arms of a broad brazen-faced untruth. What ! Is the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel so distinct and specific in its design, that any modest man can wonder that the best and most learned men of every age since Christ have deemed it mysterious ? Are the many passages concerning the Devil and demoniacs so very easy ? Has this writer himself thrown the least light on, or himself received one ray of light from, the meaning of the word Faith ; —or the reason of Christ's paramount declarations respecting its omnific power, its absolutely indispensable necessity ? If the word mean only what the Barrister supposes, a persuasion that in the present state of our knowledge the evidences for the historical truth of the miracles of the Gospel outweigh the arguments of the Sceptics, will he condescend to give us such a comment on the assertion, that had we but *a grain of mustard seed* of it, we might control all material nature, without making Christ himself the most extravagant hyperbolist that ever misused language ? But it is impossible to make that man blush, who can seriously call the words of Christ as recorded by St. John, plain, easy, common sense, out of which prejudice, artifice, and selfish interest alone can compose any difficulty. The Barrister has just as much right to call his religion Christianity, as to call flour and water plum pudding :—yet we all admit that in plum pudding both flour and water do exist.

Ibid. p. 7.

Socinus can have no claim upon my veneration : I have never concerned myself with what he believed nor with what he taught, &c.

The Scripture is my authority, and on no other authority will I ever, knowingly, lay the foundation of my faith.

Utterly untrue. It is not the Scripture, but such

passages of Scripture as appear to him to accord with his Procrustean bed of so called reason, and a forcing of the blankest contradictions into the same meaning, by explanations to which I defy him to furnish one single analogy as allowed by mankind with regard to any other writings but the Old and New Testament. It is a gross and impudent delusion to call a Book his authority, which he receives only so far as it is an echo of his own convictions. I defy him to adduce one single article of his whole faith (creed rather), which he really derives from the Scripture. Even the arguments for the Resurrection are and must be extraneous: for the very proofs of the facts are (as every *tyro* in theology must know) the proofs of the authenticity of the Books in which they are contained. This question I would press upon him:—Suppose we possessed the Fathers only with the Ecclesiastical and Pagan historians, and that not a page remained of the New Testament,—what article of his creed would it alter?

Ibid. p. 10.

If the creed of Calvinistic Methodism is really more productive of conversions than the religion of Christianity, let them openly and at once say so.

But Calvinistic Methodism? Why Calvinistic Methodism? Not one in a hundred of the Methodists are Calvinists. Not to mention the impudence of this crow in his abuse of black feathers! Is it worse in a Methodist to oppose Socinianism to Christianity, that is, to the doctrines of Wesley or even Whitfield, which are the same as those of all the Reformed Churches of Christendom, and differ only wherein the most celebrated divines of the same churches have differed with each other,—than for the Barrister to

oppose Methodism to Christianity (his Christianity)—that is, to Socinianism, which in every peculiar doctrine of Christianity differs from all divines of all Churches of all ages? For the one tenet in which the Calvinist differs from the majority of Christians, are there not ten in which the Socinian differs from all?

To what purpose then this windy declamation about John Calvin? How many Methodists, does the Barrister think, ever saw, much less read, a work of Calvin's? If he scorns the name of Socinus as his authority, and appeals to Scripture, do not the Methodists the same? When do they refer to Calvin? In what work do they quote him? This page is therefore mere dust in the eyes of the public. And his abuse of Calvin displays only his own vulgar ignorance both of the man, and of his writings. For he seems not to know that the humane Melancthon, and not only he, but almost every Church, Lutheran or Reformed, throughout Europe, sent letters to Geneva, extolling the execution of Servetus, and returning their thanks. Yet it was a murder not the less: Yes! a damned murder: but the guilt of it is not peculiar to Calvin, but common to all the theologians of that age; and, *Nota bene*, Mr. Barrister, the Socini not excepted, who were prepared to inflict the very same punishment on F. Davidi for denying the adorability of Christ. If to wish, will, resolve, and attempt to realise, be morally to commit, an action, then must Socinus and Calvin hunt in the same collar. But, O mercy! if every human being were to be held up to detestation, who in that age would have thought it his duty to have passed sentence *de comburendo heretico* on a man, who had publicly styled the Trinity 'a Cerberus,' and 'a three-headed monster of hell,' what would the history of the

Reformation be but a list of criminals? With what face indeed can we congratulate ourselves on being born in a more enlightened age, if we so bitterly abuse not the practice but the agents? Do we not admit by this very phrase 'enlightened,' that we owe our exemption to our intellectual advantages, not primarily to our moral superiority? It will be time enough to boast, when to our own tolerance we have added their zeal, learning, and indefatigable industry. *

Ibid. pp. 13, 14.

If religion consists in listening to long prayers, and attending long sermons, in keeping up an outside appearance of devotion, and interlarding the most common discourse with phrases of Gospel usage:—if this is religion, then are the disciples of Methodism pious beyond compare. But in real humility of heart, in mildness of temper, in liberality of mind, in purity of thought, in openness and uprightness of conduct in private life, in those practical virtues which are the vital substance of Christianity,—in these are they superior? No. Public observation is against the fact, and the conclusion to which such observation leads is rarely incorrect. * * The very name of the sect carries with it an impression of meanness and hypocrisy. Scarce an individual that has had any dealings with those belonging to it, but has good cause to remember it from some circumstance of low deception or of shuffling fraud. Its very members trust each other with caution and reluctance. The more wealthy among them are drained and dried by the leeches that perpetually fasten upon them. The leaders, ignorant and bigoted—I speak of them collectively—present us with no counter-qualities that can conciliate respect. They have all the craft of monks without their courtesy, and all the subtlety of Jesuits without their learning.

In the whole *Bibliotheca theologica* I remember

* See Table Talk, pp. 282 and 304. 2nd edit.—*Ed.*

no instance of calumny so gross, so impudent, so unchristian. Even as a single robber, I mean he who robs one man, gets hanged, while the robber of a million is a great man, so it seems to be with calumny. This worthy Barrister will be extolled for this audacious slander of thousands, for which, if applied to any one individual, he would be in danger of the pillory. This paragraph should be quoted: for were the charge true, it is nevertheless impossible that the Barrister should know it to be true. He positively asserts as a truth known to him what it is impossible he should know:—he is therefore doubly a slanderer; for first, the charge is a gross calumny; and were it otherwise, he would still be a slanderer, for he could have no proof, no ground for such a charge.

Ibid. p. 15.

Amidst all this spirit of research we find nothing—comparatively nothing—of improvement in that science of all others the most important in its influence * * *. Religion, except from the emancipating energy of a few superior minds, which have dared to snap asunder the cords which bound them to the rock of error * * * has been suffered to remain in its principles and in its doctrines, just what it was when the craft of Catholic superstition first corrupted its simplicity.

So, so. Here it comes out at last! It is not the Methodists; no; it is all and each of all Europe, Infidels and Socinians excepted! O impudence! And then the exquisite self-conceit of the blunderer!

Ibid. p. 29.

— If of *different denominations*, how were they thus conciliated to a society of this ominous nature, from which

they must themselves of necessity be ~~extended~~ by that indispensable condition of admittance, 'a ~~union~~ of religious sentiment in the *great doctrines*:' which ~~very~~ want of union it is that creates these *different denominations*?

No, Barrister! they mean that men of different denominations may yet all believe in the corruption of the human will, the redemption by Christ, the divinity of Christ as consubstantial with the Father, the necessity of the Holy Spirit, or grace (meaning more than the disposition of circumstances), and the necessity of faith in Christ superadded to a belief of his actions and doctrines,—and yet differ in many other points. The points enumerated are called the great points, because all Christians agree in them excepting the Arians and Socinians, who for that reason are not deemed Christians by the rest. The Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the Arminian, the Greek, with all their sub-divisions, do yet all accord in these articles:—the booksellers might have said, all who repeat the Nicene Creed. N.B. I do not approve, or defend, nay, I dislike, these 'United Theological Booksellers:' but this utter Barrister is their best friend by attacking them so as to secure to them victory, and all the advantages of being known to have been wickedly slandered;—the best shield a faulty cause can pretend against the javelin of fair opposition.

Ibid. p. 56.

Our Saviour never in any single instance reprobated the exercise of reason: on the contrary, he reprehends severely those who did not exercise it. Carnal reason is not a phrase to be found in *his* Gospel; he appealed to the understanding in all he said, and in all he taught. He never required *faith* in his disciples, without first furnishing sufficient *evidence* to justify it. He reasoned thus: If I have done what no *human*

power could do, ~~you~~ must admit that my power is from above, &c.

Good heavens! did he not uniformly require faith as the condition of obtaining the 'evidence,' as this Barrister calls it—that is, the miracle? What a shameless perversion of the fact! He never did reason thus. In one instance only, and then upbraiding the base sensuality of the Jews, he said: 'If ye are so base as not to believe what I say from the moral evidence in your own consciences, yet pay some attention to it even for my works' sake.' And this, an *argumentum ad hominem*, a bitter reproach (just as if a great chemist should say;—Though you do not care for my science, or the important truths it presents, yet, even as an amusement superior to that of your jugglers to whom you willingly crowd, pay some attention to me)—this is to be set up against twenty plain texts and the whole spirit of the whole Gospel! Besides, Christ could not reason so; for he knew that the Jews admitted both natural and demoniacal miracles, and their faith in the latter he never attacked; though by an *argumentum ad hominem* (for it is no argument in itself) he denied its applicability to his own works. If Christ had reasoned so, why did not the Barrister quote his words, instead of putting imaginary words in his mouth?

Ibid. pp. 60, 61.

Religion is a system of *revealed* truth; and to affirm of any revealed truth, that we *cannot understand* it, is, in effect, either to deny that it has been revealed, or—which is the same thing—to admit that it has been revealed in vain.

It is too worthless! I cannot go on. Merciful God! hast thou not revealed to us the being of a

conscience, and of reason, and of will;—and does this Barrister tell us, that he ‘understands’ them? Let him know that he does not even understand the very word understanding. He does not seem to be aware of the school-boy distinction between the *ὅτι ἐστὶ* and the *διότι*? But to all these silly objections religion must for ever remain exposed as long as the word Revelation is applied to any thing that can be *bona fide* given to the mind *ab extra*, through the senses of eye, ear or touch. No! all revelation is and must be *ab intra*; the external *phænomena* can only awake, recal evidence, but never reveal. This is capable of strict demonstration.

Afterwards the Barrister quotes from Thomas Watson respecting things above comprehension in the study of nature: ‘in these cases, the *fact* is evident, the cause lies in obscurity, deeply removed from all the knowledge and penetration of man.’ Then what can we believe respecting these causes? And if we can believe nothing respecting them, what becomes of them as arguments in support of the proposition that we ought, in religion, to believe what we cannot understand?

Are there not facts in religion, the causes and constitution of which are mysteries?

NOTES ON DAVISON'S DISCOURSES ON PROPHECY.*

1825.

 Disc. IV. Pt. i. p. 140.

As to systems of religion alien from Christianity, if any of them have taught the doctrine of eternal life, the reward of obedience, as a dogma of belief, that doctrine is not their boast, but their burden and difficulty; inasmuch as they could never defend it. They could never justify it on independent grounds of deduction, nor produce their warrant and authority to teach it. In such precarious and unauthenticated principles it may pass for a conjecture, or pious fraud, or a splendid phantom: it cannot wear the dignity of truth,

Ah, why did not Mr. Davison adhere to the manly, the glorious, strain of thinking from p. 134 (*Since Prophecy, &c.*) to p. 139, (*that mercy*) of this discourse? A fact is no subject of scientific demonstration speculatively: we can only bring analogies, and these Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, and others did bring; but their main argument remains to this day the main argument—namely, that none but a wicked man dares doubt it. When it is not in the light of promise, it is in the law of fear, at all times a part of the conscience, and presupposed in all spiritual conviction.

* Discourses on Prophecy, in which are considered its structure, use and inspiration, being the substance of twelve Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn in the Lecture founded by the Right Rev. William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester. By John Davison, B.D. 2nd edit. London, 1825.

Ibid. p. 160.

Some indeed have sought the *star* and the *sceptre* of Balaam's prophecy, where they cannot well be found, in the reign of David; for though a sceptre might be there, the star properly is not.

Surely this is a very weak reason. A far better is, I think, suggested by the words, *I shall see him—I shall behold him*;—which in no intelligible sense could be true of Balaam relatively to David.

Ibid. p. 162.

The Israelites could not endure the voice and fire of Mount Sinai. They asked an intermediate messenger between God and them, who should temper the awfulness of his voice, and impart to them his will in a milder way.

Deut. xviii. 15. Is the following argument worthy our consideration? If, as the learned Eichhorn, Paulus of Jena, and others of their school, have asserted, Moses waited forty days for a tempest, and then, by the assistance of the natural magic he had learned in the temple of Isis, *initiated* the law, all our experience and knowledge of the way in which large bodies of men are affected would lead us to suppose that the Hebrew people would have been keenly excited, interested, and elevated by a spectacle so grand and so flattering to their national pride. But if the voices and appearances were indeed divine and supernatural, well must we assume that there was a distinctive, though verbally inexpressible, terror and disproportion to the mind, the senses, the whole *organismus* of the human beholders and hearers, which might both account for, and even in the sight of God justify, the trembling prayer which deprecated a repetition.

Ibid. p. 164.

To justify its application to Christ, the resemblance between him and Moses has often been deduced at large, and drawn into a variety of particulars, among which several points have been taken minute and precarious, or having so little of dignity or clearness of representation in them, that it would be wise to discard them from the prophetic evidence.

With our present knowledge we are both enabled and disposed thus to evolve the full contents of the word *like*; but I cannot help thinking that the contemporaries of Moses (if not otherwise orally instructed,) must have understood it in the first and historical sense, at least, of Joshua.

Ibid. p. 168.

A distinguished commentator on the laws of Moses, Michaelis, vindicates their temporal sanctions on the ground of the Mosaic Code being of the nature of a civil system, to the statutes of which the rewards of a future state would be incongruous and unsuitable.

I never read either of Michaelis's Works, but the same view came before me whenever I reflected on the Mosaic Code. Who expects in realities of any kind the sharp outline and exclusive character of scientific classification? It is the predominance of the characterising constituent that gives the name and class. Do not even our own statute laws, though co-existing with a separate religious Code, contain many *formulae* of words which have no sense but for the conscience? Davison's stress on the word *covet*, in the tenth commandment is, I think, beyond what so ancient a Code warrants;—and for the other instances, Michaelis would remind him that the Mosaic constitution was a strict theocracy, and that Jehovah, the God of all,

was their *king*. I do not know the particular mode in which Michaelis propounds and supports this position ; but the position itself, as I have presented it to my own mind, seems to me among the strongest proofs of the divine origin of the Law, and an essential in the harmony of the total scheme of Revelation.


Disc. IV. Pt. ii. p. 180.

But the first law meets him on his own terms ; it stood upon a present retribution ; the execution of its sentence is matter of history, and the argument resulting from it is to be answered, before the question is carried to another world.

This is rendered a very powerful argument by the consideration, that though so vast a mind as that of Moses, though perhaps even a Lycurgus, might have distinctly foreseen the ruin and captivity of the Hebrew people as a necessary result of the loss of nationality, and the abandonment of the law and religion which were their only point of union, their centre of gravity,—yet no human intellect could have foreseen the perpetuity of such a people as a distinct race under all the aggravated curses of the law weighing on them ; or that the obstinacy of their adherence to their dividuating institutes in persecution, dispersion, and shame, should be in direct proportion to the wantonness of their apostasy from the same in union and prosperity.

Disc. V. Pt. ii. p. 234.

Except under the dictate of a constraining inspiration, it is not easy to conceive how the master of such a work, at the time when he had brought it to perfection, and beheld it in its lustre, the labour of so much opulent magnificence and curious art, and designed to be *exceeding*



magnifical, of fame, and of glory throughout all countries, should be occupied with the prospect of its utter ruin and dilapidation, and that too under the *opprobrium* of God's vindictive judgment upon it, nor to imagine how that strain of sinister prophecy, that forebodes of malediction, should be ascribed to him, if he had no such vision revealed.

Here, I think, Mr. Davison should have crushed the objection of the Infidel grounded on Solomon's subsequent idolatrous impieties. The Infidel argues, that these are not conceivable of a man distinctly conscious of a prior and supernatural inspiration, accompanied with supernatural manifestations of the divine presence.

Disc. VI. Pt. i. p. 283.

In order to evade this conclusion, nothing is left but to deny that Isaiah, or any person of his age, wrote the book ascribed to him.

This too is my conclusion, but (if I do not delude myself) from more evident, though not perhaps more certain premisses. The age of the Cyrus prophecies is the great object of attack by Eichhorn and his compilers; and I dare not say, that in a controversy with these men Davison's arguments would appear sufficient. But this was not the intended subject of these Discourses.

Disc. VI. Pt. ii. p. 289.

But how does he express that promise? In the images of the resurrection and an immortal state. Consequently, there is implied in the delineation of the lower subject the truth of the greater.

This reminds me of a remark, I have elsewhere made respecting the expediency of separating the

arguments addressed to, and valid for, a believer. from the proofs and vindications of Scripture intended to form the belief, or to convict the Infidel.

Disc. VI. Pt. iv. p. 325.

When Cyrus became master of Babylon, the prophecies of Isaiah were shewn or communicated to him, wherein were described his victory, and the use he was appointed to make of it in the restoration of the Hebrew people. (*Ezra* i. 1, 2.)

This I had been taught to regard as one of Josephus's legends; but upon this passage who would not infer that it had Ezra for its authority,—who yet does not expressly say that even the prophecy of the far later Jeremiah was known or made known to Cyrus, who (*Ezra* tells us) fulfilled it? If Ezra had meant the prediction of Isaiah by the words, *he hath charged me*, &c., why should he not have referred to it together with, or even instead of, Jeremiah? Is it not more probable that a living prophet had delivered the charge to Cyrus? See *Ezra* vi. 14.—Again, Davison makes Cyrus speak like a Christian, by omitting the affix of *Heaven* to the *Lord God* in the original. Cyrus speaks as a Cyrus might be supposed to do,—namely, of a most powerful, but yet national, deity; of a God, not of God. I have seen in so many instances the injurious effect of weak or overstrained arguments in defence of religion, that I am perhaps more jealous than I need be in the choice of evidences. I can never think myself the worse Christian for any opinion I may have formed, respecting the price of this or that argument, of this or that divine, in support of the truth. For every one that I reject, I could supply two, and these ἀνέκδοτα.

Ibid. p. 336.

Meanwhile this long repose and obscurity of Zerubbabel's family, and of the whole house of David, during so many generations prior to the Gospel, was one of the preparations made whereby to manifest more distinctly the proper glory of it, in the birth of the Messiah.

In whichever way I take this, whether addressed to a believer for the purpose of enlightening, or to an inquirer for the purpose of establishing, his faith in prophecy, this argument appears to me equally perplexing and obscure. It seems, *prima facie*, almost tantamount to a right of inferring the fulfilment of a prophecy in B., which it does not mention, from its entire failure and falsification in A., which, and which alone, it does mention.

Ibid. p. 370.

Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and dreadful day of the Lord.

Almost every page of this volume makes me feel my own ignorance respecting the interpretation of the language of the Hebrew Prophets, and the want of the one idea which would supply the key. Suppose an Infidel to ask me, how the Jews were to ascertain that John the Baptist was Elijah the Prophet;—am I to assert the pre-existence of John's personal identity as Elijah? If not, why Elijah rather than any other Prophet? One answer is obvious enough, that the contemporaries of John held Elijah as the common representative of the Prophets; but did Malachi do so?

Ibid. p. 373.

I cannot conceive a more beautiful synopsis of a work on the Prophecies of the Old Testament, than

is given in this Recapitulation. Would that its truth had been equally well substantiated! That it can be, that it will be, I have the liveliest faith;—and that Mr. Davison has contributed as much as we ought to expect, and more than any contemporary divine, I acknowledge, and honour him accordingly. But much, very much, remains to be done, before these three pages merit the name of a Recapitulation.

Disc. VII. p. 375.

If I needed proof of the immense importance of the doctrine of Ideas, and how little it is understood, the following discourse would supply it.

The whole discussion on Prescience and Freewill, with exception of the page or two borrowed from Skelton, displays an unacquaintance with the deeper philosophy, and a helplessness in the management of the particular question, which I know not how to reconcile with the steadiness and clearness of insight evinced in the earlier Discourses. I neither do nor ever could see any other difficulty on the subject, than what is contained and anticipated in the idea of eternity.

By Ideas I mean intuitions not sensuous, which can be expressed only by contradictory conceptions, or, to speak more accurately, are in themselves necessarily both inexpressible and inconceivable, but are suggested by two contradictory positions. This is the essential character of all ideas, consequently of eternity, in which the attributes of omniscience and omnipotence are included. Now prescience and freewill are in fact nothing more than the two contradictory positions by which the human understanding struggles to express successively the idea of eternity. Not eternity in the negative sense as the mere absence of succession,

much less eternity in the senseless sense of an infinite time; but eternity,—the Eternal; as Deity, as God. Our theologians forget that the objection applies equally to the possibility of the divine will; but if they reply that prescience applied to an eternal, *Entis absoluti tota et simultanea fruitio*, is but an anthropomorphism, or term of accommodation, the same answer serves in respect of the human will; for the epithet human does not enter into the syllogism. As to contingency, whence did Mr. Davison learn that it is a necessary accompaniment of freedom, or of free action? My philosophy teaches me the very contrary.

Ibid. p. 392.

He contends, without reserve, that the free actions of men are not within the divine prescience; resting his doctrine partly on the assumption that there are no strict and absolute predictions in Scripture of those actions in which men are represented as free and responsible: and partly on the abstract reason, that such actions are in their nature impossible to be certainly foreknown.

I utterly deny contingency, except in relation to the limited and imperfect knowledge of man. But the misery is, that men write about freewill without a single meditation on will absolutely; on the idea *κατ' ἐξοχήν* without any idea; and so bewilder themselves in the jungle of alien conceptions; and to understand the truth they overlay their reason.

Disc. VIII. p. 416.

It would not be easy to calculate the good which a man like Mr. Davison might effect, under God, by a work on the Messianic Prophecies, specially intended for, and addressed to, the present race of Jews,—if only he would make himself acquainted with their

objections and ways of understanding Scripture. For instance, a learned Jew would perhaps contend that this prophecy of Isaiah (c. ii. 2-4,) cannot fairly be interpreted of a mere local origination of a religion historically; as the drama might be described as going forth from Athens, and philosophy from Academus and the Painted Porch, but must refer to an established and continuing seat of worship, *a house of the God of Jacob*. The answer to this is provided in the preceding verse, *in the top of the mountains*; which irrefragably proves the figurative character of the whole prediction.

Ibid. p. 431.

One point, however, is certain and equally important, namely, that the Christian Church, when it comes to recognise more truly the obligation imposed upon it by the original command of its Founder, *Go teach all nations*, &c.

That the duty here recommended is deducible from this text is quite clear to my mind; but whether it is the direct sense and primary intention of the words; whether the first meaning is not negative,—(*Have no respect to what nation a man is of, but teach it to all indifferently whom you have an opportunity of addressing*),—this is not so clear. The larger sense is not without its difficulties, nor is this narrower sense without its practical advantages.

Disc. IX. pp. 453-4.

The striking inferiority of several of these latter Discourses in point of style, as compared with the first 150 pages of this volume, perplexes me. It seems more than mere carelessness, or the occasional *infausta tempora scribendi*, can account for. I question

whether from any modern work of a tenth part of the merit of these Discourses, either in matter or in force and felicity of diction and composition, as many uncouth and awkward sentences could be extracted. The paragraph in page 453 and 454, is not a specimen of the worst. In a volume which ought to be, and which probably will be, in every young Clergyman's library, these *maculæ* are subjects of just regret. The utility of the work, no less than its great comparative excellence, render its revision a duty on the part of the author; specks are no trifles in diamonds.

Disc. XII. p. 519.

Four such ruling kingdoms did arise. The first, the Babylonian, was in being when the prophecy is represented to have been given. It was followed by the Persian; the Persian gave way to the Grecian; the Roman closed the series.

This is stoutly denied by Eichhorn, who contends that the Mede or Medo-Persian is the second—if I recollect aright. But it always struck me that Eichhorn, like other learned Infidels, is caught in his own snares. For if the prophecies are of the age of the first Empire, and actually delivered by Daniel, there is no reason why the Roman Empire should not have been predicted;—for superhuman predictions, the last two at least must have been. But if the book was a forgery, or a political poem like Gray's Bard or Lycophron's Cassandra, and later than Antiochus Epiphanes, it is strange and most improbable that the Roman should have escaped notice. In both cases the omission of the last and most important Empire is inexplicable.

Ibid. p. 521.

Yet we have it on authority of Josephus, that Daniel's

prophecies were read publicly among the Jews in their worship, as well as their other received Scriptures.

It is but fair, however, to remember that the Jewish Church ranked the book of Daniel in the third class only, among the Hagiographic—passionately almost as the Jews before and at the time of our Saviour were attached to it.

Ibid. pp. 522-3.

But to a Jewish eye, or to any eye placed in the same position of view in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, it is utterly impossible to admit that this superior strength of the Roman power to reduce and destroy, this heavier arm of subjugation, could have revealed itself so plainly, as to warrant the express deliberate description of it.

Quære. See Polybius.

Ibid.

We shall yet have to inquire how it could be foreseen that this fourth, this yet unestablished empire, should be the last in the line.

This is a sound and weighty argument, which the preceding does not, I confess, strike me as being. On the contrary, the admission that by a writer of the Maccabaic æra the Roman power could scarcely have been overlooked, greatly strengthens this second argument, as naturally suggesting expectations of change, and wave-like succession of empires, rather than the idea of a last. In the age of Augustus this might possibly have occurred to a profound thinker; but the age of Antiochus was too late to permit the Roman power to escape notice; and not late enough to suggest its exclusive establishment so as to leave no source of succession.

NOTES ON IRVING'S BEN-EZRA.*

1827.

—♦—
Christ the Word.

|
The Scriptures — The Spirit — The Church.

|
The Preacher.

Such seemeth to me to be the scheme of the Faith in Christ. The written Word, the Spirit and the Church, are co-ordinate, the indispensable conditions and the working causes of the perpetuity and continued re-nascence and spiritual life of Christ still militant. The Eternal Word, Christ from everlasting, is the *prothesis* or identity;—the Scriptures and the Church are the two poles, or the *thesis* and *antithesis*; the Preacher in direct line under the Spirit, but likewise the point of junction of the written Word and the Church, being the *synthesis*. And here is another proof of a principle elsewhere by me asserted and exemplified, that divine truths are ever a *tetractys*, or a triad equal to a *tetractys*: $4=1$ or $3=4=1$. But the entire scheme is a pentad—God's hand in the world.†

It may be not amiss that I should leave a record in my own hand, how far, in what sense, and under what conditions, I agree with my friend, Edward

* The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty. By Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra, a converted Jew. Translated from the Spanish, with a preliminary Discourse. By the Rev. Edward Irving, A.M. London, 1827.

† See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 66.—Ed.

Irving, respecting the second coming of the Son of Man. I. How far? First, instead of the full and entire conviction,—the positive assurance, which Mr. Irving entertains, I—even in those points in which my judgment most coincides with his,—profess only to regard them as probable, and to vindicate them as nowise inconsistent with orthodoxy. They may be believed, and they may be doubted, *salva Catholica* *sede*. Further, from these points I exclude all prognostications of time and event; the mode, the persons, the places, of the accomplishment; and I decisively protest against all parts of Mr. Irving's and of Lacunza's scheme grounded on the books of Daniel or the Apocalypse, interpreted as either of the two, Irving or Lacunza, understands them. Again, I protest against all identification of the coming with the Apocalyptic Millennium, which in my belief began under Constantine. II. In what sense? In this and no other, that the objects of the Christian Redemption will be perfected on this earth;—that the kingdom of God and his Word, the latter as the Son of Man, in which the divine will shall *be done on earth as it is in heaven*, will come;—and that the whole march of nature and history, from the first impregnation of Chaos by the Spirit, converges toward this kingdom as the final cause of the world. Life begins in detachment from Nature, and ends in union with God. III. Under what conditions? That I retain my former convictions respecting St. Michael, and the ex-saint Lucifer, and the Genie Prince of Persia, and the re-institution of bestial sacrifices in the Temple at Jerusalem, and the rest of this class. All these appear to me so many pimples on the face of my friend's faith from inward heats, leaving it indeed a fine handsome intelligent face, but certainly not adding to its comeliness.

Such are the convictions of S. T. Coleridge, May, 1827.

P.S. I fully agree with Mr. Irving as to the literal fulfilment of all the prophecies which respect the restoration of the Jews. (*Deuteron. xxv. 1—8.*)

It may be long before Edward Irving sees what I seem at least to see so clearly,—and yet, I doubt not, the time will come when he too will see with the same evidentness,—how much grander a front his system would have presented to judicious beholders : on how much more defensible a position he would have placed it,—and the remark applies equally to Ben-Ezra (that is, Emanuel Lacunza)—had he trusted the proof to Scriptures of undisputed catholicity, to the spirit of the whole Bible, to the consonance of the doctrine with the reason, its fitness to the needs and capacities of mankind, and its harmony with the general plan of the divine dealings with the world,—and had left the Apocalypse in the back ground. But alas ! instead of this he has given it such prominence, such prosiliency of relief, that he has made the main strength of his hope appear to rest on a vision, so obscure that his own author and faith's-mate claims a meaning for its contents only on the supposition that the meaning is yet to come !

Preliminary Discourse, p. lxxx.

Now of these three, the office of Christ, as our prophet, is the means used by the Holy Spirit for working the redemption of the understanding of men ; that faculty by which we acquire the knowledge on which proceed both our inward principles of conduct and our outward acts of power.

I cannot forbear expressing my regret that Mr. Irving has not adhered to the clear and distinct

exposition of the understanding, *genere et gradu*, given in the Aids to Reflection.* What can be plainer than to say: the understanding is the medial faculty or faculty of means, as reason on the other hand is the source of ideas or ultimate ends. By reason we determine the ultimate end: by the understanding we are enabled to select and adapt the appropriate means for the attainment of, or approximation to, this end, according to circumstances. But an ultimate end must of necessity be an idea, that is, that which is not representable by the sense, and has no entire correspondent in nature, or the world of the senses. For in nature there can be neither a first nor a last:—all that we can see, smell, taste, touch, are means, and only in a qualified sense, and by the defect of our language, entitled ends. They are only relatively ends in a chain of motives. B. is the end to A.; but it is itself a mean to C., and in like manner C. is a mean to D., and so on. Thus words are the means by which we reduce appearances, or things presented through the senses, to their several kinds, or *genera*; that is, we generalise, and thus think and judge. Hence the understanding, considered specially as an intellective power, is the source and faculty of words;—and on this account the understanding is justly defined, both by Archbishop Leighton, and by Immanuel Kant, the faculty that judges by, or according to, sense. However, practical or intellectual, it is one and the same understanding, and the definition, the medial faculty, expresses its true character in both directions alike. I am urgent on this point, because on the right conception of the same, namely, that understanding and sense (to which the sensibility supplies the material of outness, *materiam objectivam*,) constitute

* P. 157, 4th edit.—Ed.

the natural mind of man, depends the comprehension of St. Paul's whole theological system. And this natural mind, which is named the mind of the flesh, *φρόνημα σαρκός*, as likewise *ψυχικὴ σύνεσις*, the intellectual power of the living or animal soul, St. Paul everywhere contradistinguishes from the spirit, that is, the power resulting from the union and co-inherence of the will and the reason;—and this spirit both the Christian and elder Jewish Church named *sophia*, or wisdom.

Ben-Ezra. Part I. c. v. p. 67.

Eusebius and St. Epiphanius name Cerinthus as the inventor of many corruptions. That heresiarch being given up to the belly and the palate, placed therein the happiness of man. And so taught his disciples, that after the Resurrection, * * *. And what appeared most important, each would be master of an entire seraglio, like a Sultan, &c.

I find very great difficulty in crediting these black charges on Cerinthus, and know not how to reconcile them with the fact that the Apocalypse itself was by many attributed to Cerinthus. But Mr. Hunt is not more famous for blacking than some of the Fathers.

Ibid. pp. 73-4.

Against whom a very eloquent man, Dionysius Alexandrinus, a Father of the Church, wrote an elegant work, to ridicule the Millennarian fable, the golden and gemmed Jerusalem on the earth, the renewal of the Temple, the blood of victims. If the book of St. Dionysius had contained nothing but the derision and confutation of all we have just read, it is certain that he doth in no way concern himself with the harmless Millennarians, but with the Jews and Judaizers. It is to be clearly seen that Dionysius had nothing

in his eye, but the ridiculous excesses of Nepos, and his peculiar tenets upon circumcision, &c.

Lacunza, I suspect, was ignorant of Greek: and seems not to have known that the object of Dionysius was to demonstrate that the Apocalypse was neither authentic nor a canonical book.

Ibid. p. 85.

The ruin of Antichrist, with all that is comprehended under that name, being entirely consummated, and the King of kings remaining master of the field, St. John immediately continues in the 20th chapter, which thus commenceth: *And I saw an angel come down from heaven, &c. And I saw thrones, &c. And when a thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.*

It is only necessary to know that the whole book from the first verse to the last is written in symbols, to be satisfied that the true meaning of this passage is simply, that only the great Confessors and Martyrs will be had in remembrance and honour in the Church after the establishment of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire. And observe, it is the souls that the Seer beholds:—there is not a word of the resurrection of the body;—for this would indeed have been the appropriate symbol of a resurrection in a real and personal sense.

Ibid. c. vi. p. 108.

Now this very thing St. John likewise declareth * * to wit, *that they who have been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and they who have not worshipped the beast, these shall live, or be raised at the coming of the Lord, which is the first resurrection.*

Ay! but by what authority is this synonymising “or” asserted? The Seer not only does not speak

of any resurrection, but by the word *ψυχάς*, souls, expressly asserts the contrary. In no sense of the word can souls, which descended in Christ's train (*chorus sacer animarum et Christi comitatus*) from Heaven, be said *resurgere*. Resurrection is always and exclusively resurrection in the body; not indeed a rising of the *corpus φανταστικόν*, that is, the few ounces of carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, hydrogen, and phosphate of lime, the *copula* of which that gave the form no longer exists,—and of which Paul exclaims; —*Thou fool! not this, &c.*—but the *corpus ὑποστατικόν, ἡ νούμενον*.

But there is yet another and worse wresting of the text. Who that reads Lacunza, p. 108, last line but twelve, would not understand that the Apocalypst had asserted this enthronement of the souls of the Gentile and Judæo-Christian Martyrs which he beheld in the train or suit of the descending Messiah; and that he had first seen them in the descent, and afterward saw thrones assigned to them? Whereas the sentence precedes, and has positively no connection with these souls. The literal interpretation of the symbols ch. xx. ver. 4, is, 'I then beheld the Christian religion the established religion of the state throughout the Roman empire;—emperors, kings, magistrates, and the like, all Christians, and administering laws in the name of Christ, that is, receiving the Scriptures as the supreme and paramount law. Then in all the temples the name of Jesus was invoked as the King of Glory, and together with him the old afflicted and tormented fellow-labourers with Christ were revived in high and reverential commemoration,' &c. But that the whole Vision from first to last, in every sentence, yea, every word, is symbolical, and in the boldest, largest style of symbolic language; and secondly, that it is a work of disputed canonicity, and

at no known period of the Church could truly lay claim to catholicity ;—but for this, I think this verse would be worth a cartload of the texts which the Romanist divines and catechists ordinarily cite as sanctioning the invocation of Saints.

Ibid. p. 110.

You will say nevertheless, that even the wicked will be raised incorruptible to inherit incorruption, because being once raised, their bodies will no more change or be dissolved, but must continue entire, for ever united with their sad and miserable souls. Well, and would you call this corruption or incorruptibility? Certainly this is not the sense of the Apostle, when he formally assures us, yea, even threatens us, that corruption cannot inherit incorruption. *Neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.* What then may this singular expression mean? This is what it manifestly means ;—that no person, whoever he may be, without any exception, who possesseth a corrupt heart and corrupt actions, and therein persevereth unto death, shall have reason to expect in the resurrection a pure, subtle, active and impassible body.

This is actually dangerous tampering with the written letter.

Without touching on the question whether St. Paul in this celebrated chapter (1 *Cor.* xv.) speaks of a partial or of the general resurrection, or even conceding to Lacunza that the former opinion is the more probable ; I must still vehemently object to this Jesuitical interpretation of corruption, as used in a moral sense, and distinctive of the wicked souls. St. Paul nowhere speaks dogmatically or preceptively (not popularly and incidentally,) of a soul as the proper *I.* It is always *we*, or the man. How could a regenerate saint put off corruption at the sound of the trumpet, if up to that hour it did not in some sense or other appertain to him? But what need of many

words? It flashes on every reader whose imagination supplies an unpreoccupied, unrefracting, *medium* to the Apostolic assertion, that corruption in this passage is a descriptive synonyme of the material sensuous organism common to saint and sinner,—standing in precisely the same relation to the man that the testaceous offensive and defensive armour does to the crab and tortoise. These slightly combined and easily decomposable stuffs are as incapable of subsisting under the altered conditions of the earth as an hydatid in the blaze of a tropical sun. They would be no longer *media* of communion between the man and his circumstances.

A heavy difficulty presses, as it appears to me, on Lacunza's system, as soon as we come to consider the general resurrection. Our Lord (in books of indubitable and never-doubted catholicity) speaks of some, who rise to bliss and glory, others who at the same time rise to shame and condemnation. Now if the former class live not during the whole interval from their death to the general resurrection, including the Millennium, or *Dies Messiaë*,—how should they, whose imperfect or insufficient merits excluded them from the kingdom of the Messiah on earth, be all at once fitted for the kingdom of heaven?

Ibid. ch. vii. p. 118.

It appears to me that this sentence, being looked to attentively, means in good language this only, that the word *quick*, which the Apostles, full of the Holy Spirit, set down, is a word altogether useless, which might without loss have been omitted, and that it were enough to have set down the word *dead*: for by that word alone is the whole expressed, and with much more clearness and brevity.

The narrow outline within which the Jesuits confined the theological reading of their *alumni*, is

strongly marked in this (in so many respects) excellent work: for example, the 'most believing mind,' with which Lacunza takes for granted the exploded fable of the Catechumens' (*vulgo* Apostles') Creed having been the quotient of an Apostolic *pic-nic*, to which each of the twelve contributed his several *symbolum*.

Ibid. ch. ix. p. 127.

The Apostle, St. Peter, speaking of the day of the Lord, says, that that day will come suddenly, &c. (2 *Pet.* iii. 10.)

There are serious difficulties besetting the authenticity of the Catholic Epistles under the name of Peter; though there exist no grounds for doubting that they are of the Apostolic age. A large portion too of the difficulties would be removed by the easy and nowise improbable supposition, that Peter, no great scholar or grammarian, had dictated the substance, the matter, and left the diction and style to his *amanuensis*, who had been an auditor of St. Paul. The tradition which connects, not only Mark, but Luke the Evangelist, the friend and biographer of Paul, with Peter, as a secretary, is in favour of this hypothesis. But what is of much greater importance, especially for the point in discussion, is the character of these and other similar descriptions of the *Dies Messia*, the *Dies ultima*, and the like. Are we bound to receive them as articles of faith? Is there sufficient reason to assert them to have been direct revelations immediately vouchsafed to the sacred writers? I cannot satisfy my judgment that there is;—first, because I find no account of any such events having been revealed to the Patriarchs, or to Moses, or to the Prophets; and because I do find these events asserted, and (for aught I have been able to discover,)

for the first time, in the Jewish Church, by uninspired Rabbis, in nearly or altogether the same words as those of the Apostles, and know that before and in the Apostolic age, these anticipations had become popular and generally received notions; and lastly, because they were borrowed by the Jews from the Greek philosophy, and like several other notions, taken from less respectable quarters, adapted to their ancient and national religious belief. Now I know of no revealed truth that did not originate in Revelation, and find it hard to reconcile my mind to the belief that any Christian truth, any essential article of faith, should have been first made known by the father of lies, or the guess-work of the human understanding blinded by Paganism, or at best without the knowledge of the true God. Of course I would not apply this to any assertion of any New Testament writer, which was the final aim and primary intention of the whole passage; but only to sentences *in ordine ad* some other doctrine or precept, *illustrandi causa*, or *ad hominem*, or *more suasorio sive ad ornaturam, et rhetorice*.

Ibid. Part II. p. 145.

Second characteristic. *The kingdom shall be divided.*—Third characteristic. *The kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brittle.*—Fourth characteristic. *They shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another.*

How exactly do these characters apply to the Greek Empire under the successors of Alexander,—when the Greeks were dispersed over the civilised world, as artists, rhetoricians, *grammatici*, secretaries, private tutors, parasites, physicians, and the like!

Ibid. p. 153.

For to them he thus speaketh in the Gospel: *And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.*

I cannot deny that there is great force and an imposing verisimilitude in this and the preceding chapter, and much that demands silent thought and respectful attention. But still the great question presses on me:—*coming in a cloud!* What is the true import of this phrase? Has not God himself expounded it? To the Son of Man, the great Apostle assures us, all power is given in heaven and on earth. He became Providence,—that is, a Divine Power behind the cloudy veil of human agency and worldly events and incidents, controlling, disposing, and directing acts and events to the gradual unfolding and final consummation of the great scheme of Redemption; the casting forth of the evil and alien nature from man, and thus effecting the union of the creature with the Creator, of man with God, in and through the Son of Man, even the Son of God made manifest. Now can it be doubted by the attentive and unprejudiced reader of St. Matthew, c. xxiv, that the Son of Man, in fact, came in the utter destruction and devastation of the Jewish Temple and State, during the period from Vespasian to Hadrian, both included; and is it a sufficient reason for our rejecting the teaching of Christ himself, of Christ glorified and in his kingly character, that his Apostles, who disclaim all certain knowledge of the awful event, had understood his words otherwise, and in a sense more commensurate with their previous notions and the prejudices of their education? They communicated

their conjectures, but as conjectures, and these too guarded by the avowal, that they had no revelation, no revealed commentary on their Master's words, upon this occasion, the great apocalypse of Jesus Christ while yet in the flesh. For by this title was this great prophecy known among the Christians of the Apostolic age.

Ibid. p. 253.

Never, Oh! our Lady! never, Oh! our Mother! shalt thou fall again into the crime of idolatry.

Was ever blindness like unto this blindness? I can imagine but one way of making it seem possible, namely, that this round square or rectilineal curve—this honest Jesuit, I mean—had confined his conception of idolatry to the worship of false gods;—whereas his saints are genuine godlings, and his *Magna Mater* a goddess in her own right;—and that thus he overlooked the meaning of the word.

Ibid. p. 254.

The entire text of the Apostle is as follows:—'*Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind,*' &c. (2 Thess. ii. 1—10.)

O Edward Irving! Edward Irving! by what fascination could your spirit be drawn away from passages like this, to guess and dream over the rhapsodies of the Apocalypse? For rhapsody, according to your interpretation, the Poem undeniably is;—though, rightly expounded, it is a well knit and highly poetical evolution of a part of this and our Lord's more comprehensive prediction, *Luke* xvii.

Ibid. p. 297.

On the ordinary ideas of the coming of Christ in glory and majesty, it will doubtless appear an extravagance to name the Jews, or to take them into consideration ; for, according to these ideas, they should hardly have the least particle of our attention.

In comparing this with the preceding chapter I could not help exclaiming, What an excellent book would this Jesuit have written, if Daniel and the Apocalypse had not existed, or had been unknown to, or rejected by, him!

You may divide Lacunza's points of belief into two parallel columns ;—the first would be found to contain much that is demanded by, much that is consonant to, and nothing that is not compatible with, reason, the harmony of Holy Writ, and the idea of Christian faith. The second would consist of puerilities and anilities, some impossible, most incredible ; and all so silly, so sensual, as to befit a dreaming Talmudist, not a Scriptural Christian. And this latter column would be found grounded on Daniel and the Apocalypse !

NOTES ON NOBLE'S APPEAL.*

1827.

How natural it is to mistake the weakness of an adversary's arguments for the strength of our own

* An Appeal in behalf of the views of the eternal world and state, and the doctrines of faith and life, held by the body of Christians who believe that a New Church is signified (in the Revelation, c. xxi.) by the New Jerusalem, including Answers to objections, particularly those of the Rev. G. Beaumont, in his work entitled 'The Anti-Swedenborg.' Addressed to the reflecting of all denominations. By Samuel Noble, Minister of Hanover Street Chapel, London. London, 1826.—*Ed.*

cause ! This is especially applicable to Mr. Noble's Appeal. Assuredly as far as Mr. Beaumont's Notes are concerned, his victory is complete.

Sect. IV. p. 210.

The intellectual spirit is moving upon the chaos of minds, which ignorance and necessity have thrown into collision and confusion ; and the result will be a new creation. ' Nature ' (to use the nervous language of an old writer,) ' will be melted down and recoined ; and all will be bright and beautiful.'

Alas ! if this be possible now, or at any time henceforward, whence came the dross ? If nature be bullion that can be melted and thus purified by the conjoint action of heat and elective attraction, I pray Mr. Noble to tell me to what name or *genus* he refers the dross ? Will he tell me, to the Devil ? Whence came the Devil ? And how was the pure bullion so thoughtlessly made as to have an elective affinity for this Devil ?

Sect. V. p. 286.

The next anecdote that I shall adduce is similar in its nature to the last. * * *. The relater is Dr. Stilling, Counsellor at the Court of the Duke of Baden, in a work entitled *Die Theorie der Geister-Kunde*, printed in 1808.

Mr. Noble is a man of too much English good sense to have relied on Sung's (*alias* Dr. Stilling's) testimony, had he ever read the work in which this passage is found. I happen to possess the work ; and a more anile, credulous, solemn fop never existed since the days of old Audley. It is strange that Mr. Noble should not have heard, that these three anecdotes were first related by Immanuel Kant, and still exist in his miscellaneous writings.

Ibid. p. 315.

'Can he be a sane man who records the subsequent reverie as matter of fact! The Baron informs us, that on a certain night a man appeared to him in the midst of a strong shining light, and said, 'I am God the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer: I have chosen thee to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the Sacred Writings: I will dictate to thee what thou oughtest to write!' From this period, the Baron relates he was so illumined, as to behold, in the clearest manner, what passed in the spiritual world, and that he could converse with angels and spirits as with men,' &c.

I remember no such passage as this in Swedenborg's works. Indeed it is virtually contradicted by their whole tenor. Swedenborg asserts himself to relate *visu et audita*,—his own experience, as a traveller and visitor of the spiritual world,—not the words of another as a mere *amanuensis*. But altogether this Gulielmus must be a silly Billy.

Ibid. p. 321.

The Apostolic canon in such cases is, *Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God.* (1 John iv. 1.) And the touchstone to which they are to be brought is pointed out by the Prophet: *To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no truth in them.* (Is. viii. 20.) But instead of this canon you offer another * * * It is simply this: Whoever professes to be the bearer of divine communications, is insane. To bring Swedenborg within the operation of this rule, you quote, as if from his own works, a passage which is nowhere to be found in them, but which you seem to have taken from some biographical dictionary or cyclopædia; few or none of which give anything like a fair account of the matter.

Ay! my memory did not fail me, I find. As to

words? It flashes on every reader whose imagination supplies an unpreoccupied, unrefracting, *medium* to the Apostolic assertion, that corruption in this passage is a descriptive synonyme of the material sensuous organism common to saint and sinner,—standing in precisely the same relation to the man that the testaceous offensive and defensive armour does to the crab and tortoise. These slightly combined and easily decomposable stuffs are as incapable of subsisting under the altered conditions of the earth as an hydatid in the blaze of a tropical sun. They would be no longer *media* of communion between the man and his circumstances.

A heavy difficulty presses, as it appears to me, on Lacunza's system, as soon as we come to consider the general resurrection. Our Lord (in books of indubitable and never-doubted catholicity) speaks of some, who rise to bliss and glory, others who at the same time rise to shame and condemnation. Now if the former class live not during the whole interval from their death to the general resurrection, including the Millennium, or *Dies Messiaë*,—how should they, whose imperfect or insufficient merits excluded them from the kingdom of the Messiah on earth, be all at once fitted for the kingdom of heaven?

Ibid. ch. vii. p. 118.

It appears to me that this sentence, being looked to attentively, means in good language this only, that the word *quick*, which the Apostles, full of the Holy Spirit, set down, is a word altogether useless, which might without loss have been omitted, and that it were enough to have set down the word *dead*: for by that word alone is the whole expressed, and with much more clearness and brevity.

The narrow outline within which the Jesuits confined the theological reading of their *alumni*, is

at no known period of the Church could truly lay claim to catholicity ;—but for this, I think this verse would be worth a cartload of the texts which the Romanist divines and catechists ordinarily cite as sanctioning the invocation of Saints.

Ibid. p. 110.

You will say nevertheless, that even the wicked will be raised incorruptible to inherit incorruption, because being once raised, their bodies will no more change or be dissolved, but must continue entire, for ever united with their sad and miserable souls. Well, and would you call this corruption or incorruptibility? Certainly this is not the sense of the Apostle, when he formally assures us, yea, even threatens us, that corruption cannot inherit incorruption. *Neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.* What then may this singular expression mean? This is what it manifestly means ;—that no person, whoever he may be, without any exception, who possesseth a corrupt heart and corrupt actions, and therein persevereth unto death, shall have reason to expect in the resurrection a pure, subtle, active and impassible body.

This is actually dangerous tampering with the written letter.

Without touching on the question whether St. Paul in this celebrated chapter (1 *Cor.* xv.) speaks of a partial or of the general resurrection, or even conceding to Lacunza that the former opinion is the more probable ; I must still vehemently object to this Jesuitical interpretation of corruption, as used in a moral sense, and distinctive of the wicked souls. St. Paul nowhere speaks dogmatically or preceptively (not popularly and incidentally,) of a soul as the proper *I.* It is always *we*, or the man. How could a regenerate saint put off corruption at the sound of the trumpet, if up to that hour it did not in some sense or other appertain to him? But what need of many

words? It flashes on every reader whose imagination supplies an unpreoccupied, unrefracting, *medium* to the Apostolic assertion, that corruption in this passage is a descriptive synonyme of the material sensuous organism common to saint and sinner,—standing in precisely the same relation to the man that the testaceous offensive and defensive armour does to the crab and tortoise. These slightly combined and easily decomposable stuffs are as incapable of subsisting under the altered conditions of the earth as an hydatid in the blaze of a tropical sun. They would be no longer *media* of communion between the man and his circumstances.

A heavy difficulty presses, as it appears to me, on Lacunza's system, as soon as we come to consider the general resurrection. Our Lord (in books of indubitable and never-doubted catholicity) speaks of some, who rise to bliss and glory, others who at the same time rise to shame and condemnation. Now if the former class live not during the whole interval from their death to the general resurrection, including the Millennium, or *Dies Messiaë*,—how should they, whose imperfect or insufficient merits excluded them from the kingdom of the Messiah on earth, be all at once fitted for the kingdom of heaven?

Ibid. ch. vii. p. 118.

It appears to me that this sentence, being looked to attentively, means in good language this only, that the word *quick*, which the Apostles, full of the Holy Spirit, set down, is a word altogether useless, which might without loss have been omitted, and that it were enough to have set down the word *dead*: for by that word alone is the whole expressed, and with much more clearness and brevity.

The narrow outline within which the Jesuits confined the theological reading of their *alumni*, is

Captain Parry! But who can expect more than hints in a marginal note?

Sect. VI. pp. 378-9; 380-1.

In the general views, then, which are presented in the writings of Swedenborg on the subject of Heaven and Hell, as the abodes, respectively, of happiness and of misery, while there certainly is not anything which is not in the highest degree agreeable both to reason and Scripture, there also seems nothing which could be deemed inconsistent with the usual conceptions of the Christian world.

What tends to render thinking readers a little sceptical, is the want of a distinct boundary between the deductions from reason, and the articles, the truth of which is to rest on the Baron's personal testimony, his *visa et audita*. Nor is the Baron himself (as it appears to me) quite consistent on this point.

Ibid. p. 434.

Witness, again, the poet Milton, who introduces active sports among the recreations which he deemed worthy of angels and (strange indeed for a Puritan!) included even dancing among the number.

How could a man of Noble's sense and sensibility bring himself thus to profane the awful name of Milton, by associating it with the epithet 'Puritan?'

I have often thought of writing a work to be entitled *Vindiciæ Heterodoxæ, sive celebrium virorum παραδογματιζόντων defensio*; that is, Vindication of Great Men unjustly branded; and at such times the names prominent to my mind's eye have been Giordano Bruno, Jacob Behmen, Benedict Spinoza, and Emanuel Swedenborg. Grant, that the origin of the Swedenborgian theology is a problem; yet on which

ever of the three possible hypotheses—(possible I mean for gentlemen, scholars and Christians)—it may be solved—namely;—1. Swedenborg's own assertion and constant belief in the hypothesis of a supernatural illumination; or, 2. that the great and excellent man was led into this belief by becoming the subject of a very rare, but not (it is said) altogether unique, conjunction of the somniative faculty (by which the products of the understanding, that is to say, words, conceptions and the like, are rendered instantaneously into forms of sense) with the voluntary and other powers of the waking state; or, 3. the modest suggestion that the first and second may not be so incompatible as they appear—still it ought never to be forgotten that the merit and value of Swedenborg's system do only in a very secondary degree depend on any one of the three. For even though the first were adopted, the conviction and conversion of such a believer must, according to a fundamental principle of the New Church, have been wrought by an insight into the intrinsic truth and goodness of the doctrines, severally and collectively, and their entire consonance with the light of the written and of the eternal word, that is, with the Scriptures and with the sciential and the practical reason. Or say that the second hypothesis were preferred, and that by some hitherto unexplained affections of Swedenborg's brain and nervous system, he from the year 1743, thought and reasoned through the *medium* and instrumentality of a series of appropriate and symbolic visual and audital images, spontaneously rising before him, and these so clear and so distinct, as at length to overpower perhaps his first suspicions of their subjective nature, and to become objective for him, that is, in his own belief of their kind and origin,—still the thoughts, the reasonings, the grounds, the deductions, the facts

illustrative, or in proof, and the conclusions, remain the same; and the reader might derive the same benefit from them as from the sublime and impressive truths conveyed in the Vision of Mirza or the Tablet of Cebes. So much even from a very partial acquaintance with the works of Swedenborg. I can venture to assert; that as a moralist Swedenborg is above all praise; and that as a naturalist, psychologist, and theologian, he has strong and varied claims on the gratitude and admiration of the professional and philosophical student.—April 1827.

P.S. Notwithstanding all that Mr. Noble says in justification of his arrangement, it is greatly to be regretted that the contents of this work are so confusedly tossed together. It is, however, a work of great merit.

THE END.





